Daily Report

East Europe

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USSR, Polish, GDR Troop Exercise Announced

LD0803174789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1624 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A joint troop exercise involving the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG], the Polish Army, and the GDR National People's Army, designated "Friendship'89," which centers on defensive operations, is to take place as planned from 15 to 22 March 1989 in the Gardelegen, Haldensleben, Jessen, Dahme, Baruth, and Tangermuende regions. Up to 16,500 members of the three fraternal armies will take part in it.

The aim of the exercise is to perfect the level of training and cooperation among the troops. It will be led by Lieutenant General Mikhail Kalinin, first deputy commander in chief of the GSFG. In line with the final document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, the exercise has been announced to all member states.

CEMA Economic Secretaries Meet in Prague

AU0803144889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Mar 89 p 1

[CTK report: "The Meeting of Secretaries of the Fraternal Parties Has Begun"]

[Text] Prague—A working meeting of economic secretaries of the Central Committees of the fraternal parties of the CEMA member states began in Prague on Monday. On the agenda for discussion are questions of intensifying the reciprocal information flow between the fraternal parties and the coordination of party approaches in the sphere of economic cooperation.

The heads of the delegations are: Grisha Filipov, member of the BCP Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee; Pal Ivanyi, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Vu Oanh, secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and head of the economic department; Guenter Mittag, member of the SED Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Lionel Soto Prieto, member of the Secretariat of the Communist Party of Cuba; Demchigiyn Molomjamts, member of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Politburo and secretary of the MPRP Central Committee; Wladyslaw Baka, member of the PZPR Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Ion Sirbu, secretary of the RCP Central Committee; Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. Also present at the meeting is CEMA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev.

Jakes Receives Ministers

LD0803091789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] The working meeting of economic secretaries of the Central Committees of the communist and workers' parties of the CEMA member states ended in Prague today. There was an exchange of opinions on a number of topical questions of social and economic development and mutual economic and scientific-technological cooperation of the CEMA member states, questions that are being currently tackled by the fraternal parties to strengthen socialism in each country and in the community as a whole. They stressed the need for the individual countries to step up their efforts to increase economic potential by means of intensification. The meeting also heard proposals to deepen integration, set up a common market of interested Council member states, and establish the necessary economic and legal conditions and instruments for its foundation. It was noted that deepening cooperation within the framework of the Council should help us come to terms with the new challenges arising from current international developments. The meeting of secretaries of the Central Committees of the fraternal parties was held in a constructive, matter-of-fact, and frank atmosphere.

The participants in the meeting were received by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. He praised this meeting as a significant step for improving mutual cooperation and for the more efficient introduction of the intentions aimed at increasing the efficiency of cooperation within the CEMA framework. He briefed the guests on the current stage of economic, social, and political development in Czechoslovakia, and on the politics of the CPCZ in tackling the tasks of restructuring, economic reform, and the democratization of the life of society. He also discussed the preparations for the 18th party congress in May 1980. He stressed the significance of open exchanges of opinions and deepening cooperation between the fraternal parties for the development of the all-around cooperation of the CEMA countries.

Comrade Milos Jakes also met Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. They exchanged views on topical questions of the policies of the CPCZ and the CPSU during restructuring. They assessed possibilities for expanding cooperation between the two parties. Special attention was paid to questions of economic development and cooperation in this sphere between the CSSR and the USSR.

Vienna CSCE Ministerial Talks Continue

GDR's Fischer Arrives 5 Mar

LD0503205189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1749 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Vienna (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer arrived in the Austrian capital today to take part in the Vienna meeting of the foreign ministers of the CSCE countries. He was welcomed by Alois Mock, vice chancellor and foreign minister of the host country. [passage omitted]

Oskar Fischer will be the first foreign speaker at the meeting held in Vienna's Hofburg Place on Monday.

Immediately after his arrival, Oskar Fischer met with Alois Mock.

The GDR foreign minister made a statement upon his arrival. The foreign ministers' meeting, he said, marks the start of talks which should lead to considerable conventional disarmament and the strengthening of mutual trust. This will undoubtedly strengthen security and peace from the Atlantics to the Urals. The result of the negotiations must to be a clear reduction in forces and arms of all kinds. The forces remaining, which would then no longer possess the capacity for surprise attacks, should be verifiable. This is an enormous challenge for everyone.

Oskar Fischer underscored the fact that the GDR will do its part to advance disarmament in a purposeful way. It has already proven this with a significant unilateral advance concession. This step, in addition to the unilateral concessions of the USSR and other member states of the Warsaw Pact, have created a good climate for negotiations, in which early new specific results should be possible. In conclusion, the foreign minister expressed the hope that the actions of the socialist states would encourage their partners in Vienna to act similarly.

Fischer Addresses Session

AU0803105689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Mar 89 p 3

[Speech by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer at the Vienna CSCE foreign ministers' meeting on 6 March: "The Path Toward Detente Only Leads Through Arms Limitation and Disarmament"]

[Text] Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen:

The negotiations on conventional armed forces and further confidence- and security-building measures, which are beginning here today in the Vienna Hofburg—which is rich in tradition—are truly significant. If a forceful impulse was given to the CSCE process with the final document from the Vienna follow-up meeting, this process of disarmament, which began so full of hope, is now due to be carried further, taking into account the justified expectations of people not only on the European continent. Permit me to cordially thank you, Mr. chairman, for your invitation to this new meeting of the foreign ministers of the 35 CSCE states. Our thanks go to the Republic of Austria for its readiness to host these very important negotiations. Europe, the starting point and main arena for two world wars in the first half of this century, wars which emanated from German soil, is receiving at the end of this century the historic opportunity to create, step by step, a new structure for joint security.

The path to lasting peace requires political cooperation on all sides, which enables drastic reductions to be made in conventional armed forces. To reach an agreement on the necessary steps along this path, the task of the forthcoming negotiations is a unifying obligation and at the same time a challenge.

The Socialist German state is also taking part in the negotiations, now aware of its responsibility to do everything to ensure that never again will war emanate from German soil, but only peace. Not only Europe, but the entire world, is standing at a turning point, because even the maintenance of the available military potentials and practices is endangering the survival of mankind....

The continued stockpiling of more and more dangerous arms renders their control more and more difficult for mankind. But war, regardless of why it began, would be today, in the nuclear age, no longer the continuation of politics, it would be its end. The European peoples would neither survive a nuclear war nor a conflict fought with conventional weapons. For this reason, the European states have opted for peaceful, rational cooperation, for more trust; they have thereby established the path to be taken through the CSCE process. At the end of such developments, a consolidated, peaceful "European home" can arise. The foundation stone for this is being laid with the end of the arms race.

Only together can we, must we, answer the question concerning what is to be done in order to guarantee stability in Europe, with an ever lower military expenditure and in a reasonable manner.

Certainly, it is not easy to find an acceptable and practical answer to this. But the conditions for it have never before been so favorable:

—Favorable, because the Soviet-American INF treaty, to whose creation the GDR has contributed and for whose implementation it continues to work, proves that even complex security problems are soluble if the interests of the involved parties are respected. For the first time, an entire category of the most modern arms systems is being eliminated under strictest monitoring.

—Favorable, because the announcement of considerable unilateral reductions in armed forces and armaments by Warsaw Pact states is having an exemplary, trust-promoting effect. These reductions are being implemented independently of the negotiations which are to be conducted here, but are in the deepest harmony with their aims. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR's Council of State, stated that it is the aim of the unilateral measures "to show the readiness of the GDR to reduce armed forces and conventional weapons by deeds, in the

hope of providing a stimulus worthy of consideration to other European states...." Thus, by the end of 1990, the National People's Army wil be reduced by 10,000 soldiers, and at the same time 600 tanks will be scrapped or reequipped for civilian purposes. An air squadron will be dissolved and national defense expenditures will be reduced by ten percent.

—Favorable, because there is agreement that armed forces and conventional weapons must be included in disarmament. The mandate agreed for this in Vienna encompasses aims which can be achieved. It is aimed at the essential—the transition to an exclusively defensive capability of the states. In this way, peace intentions would be linked at last to a real inability to attack, which would allow mutual trust and beneficial partnership to grow. instead of mistrust and confrontation.

Favorable, because controversial questions, for example the supervision of disarmament and trust-building measures, have been eliminated.

Such an approach is proving itself, as the realization of the Stockholm document and the INF agreement shows. This is already setting proven yardsticks for other areas of disarmament. Finally, it can also be seen as being useful that data on the relative strength of the armed forces in Europe are now already available.

All this taken together allows the hopeful and encouraging conclusion to be drawn: arms limitation and disarmament have commenced. The starting conditions for the negotiations are good. The socialist countries have done their share.

Now the other side is being called upon to show something similar, because in the end, effective disarmament can only be realized if both sides want it and carry it out.

Along with its allies, the GDR affirms that it will singlemindedly use and expand the opportunities provided by the new developments. For this reason, it will work to bring about:

First, the elimination of existing conventional asymmetries on both sides;

Second, the reduction in armed forces and arms in Europe to below those upper limits which are achieved by eliminating the asymmetries;

Third, a situation in which the military alliances possess only the military forces and means which are sufficient for defensive action but which are inadequate for launching surprise attacks and offensive operations, regardless of weapon type and whether with conventional or nuclear arms.

Fourth, agreement on confidence- and security-building measures which supplement the Stockholm document sensibly and effectively and which restrict military activities in Europe according to size, number, character, and the area of implementation;

Fifth, the promotion of mutual information and control as elements of trust, predictability, and supervision, as the obligations entered into are fulfilled.

The uncovering and exposing of intellectual aggression—as, for example, occurred in the GDR after 1945, where antifascism became the determining social and finally state doctrine. Neo-Nazi philosophies must be eradicated everywhere. "Defend against the beginnings" can and should be valid here.

The GDR will set out on the basis of these principles, together with its allies, precise and concrete proposals which are from the 1st day directed toward conducting the negotiations dynamically and effectively with the objective of achieving initial results even before the next follow-up meeting in Helsinki. Over and above this, the GDR is prepared to support all initiatives and proposals corresponding to these principles, regardless of their source.

On this basis, and taking its truly exposed position into account, the GDR devotes particular attention to the central European region.

For this reason, it above all emphatically supports a divergence of the military potentials capable of offensive action on point of contact where the two alliances meet, because the danger of a military confrontation would thereby be lessened and greater stability for the whole of Europe would thus be achieved.

The negotiations that opened today increase the hope for speedy, effective results. One should all the more so notice with concern those things which run contrary to success, which is so dearly wished for and so urgently necessary.

It cannot be permitted, for example:

—that disarmament achieved with effort in one area is rendered worthless by quantitively and qualitatively new arming in other areas;

—that while knowing better, a "threat from the East" is again and again conjured to justify the outmoded and, in addition, dangerous concept of deterrence;

—that people continue to strive for military superiority and that deeds and changes are only demanded from the other side.

Apart from all the easily verifiable steps by the Warsaw Pact states, the Soviet Union recently and emphatically stated that it would undertake no modernization of its tactical nuclear missiles if the other side also did not do so.

Does it serve stability in Europe, does it serve a continuous disarmament process and the building of confidence:

—if the almost 700 Lance missiles to date with a range up to 125 km are due to be replaced by almost 1,100 new missiles with a range of 480 km?

—if a "complementary air attack system" (KOLAS), which is deployable either with nuclear or conventional weapons and which has a range of almost 500 km, is adopted and further new air-to-ground missiles (SRAM 2) with roughly the same range are in reality due to replace the missiles destroyed by the INF Treaty?

—if the introduction of a long-range missile launcher is planned, for which the warheads of the Pershing II's to be eliminated by the INF Treaty are due to be used?

—if Star Wars projects are to be advanced with great energy?

—or if large-scale maneuvers, which create a great deal of anxiety, continue to be carried out directly on the dividing line between both military blocs during a period oriented toward disarmament and detente?

It would better serve stability in all parts of the world if the proposals of the socialist states were followed and if:

—the number of strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States were halved, while adhering to the ABM Treaty;

—efforts were under way for establishing a comprehensive nuclear test ban;

—a convention on the elimination of chemical weapons were concluded;

—conventional armed forces were drastically reduced and confidence- and security-building measures were further developed; and

—negotiations on the reduction and eventual elimination of tactical nuclear weapons were commenced.

New thinking and action must not remain one-sided. I repeat: Disarmament only has a chance if all sides are prepared for it and carry it out on the basis of equal security. There will be no trust, no disarmament, if one side strives for superiority over the other.

If military stability on our continent is to be lasting, then there should be no isolated consideration of some weapons categories.

It is also necessary to include those areas which are not actually part of these negotiations, but which count toward the balance of power in Europe. This is why it remains of utmost urgency to banish chemical weapons from military arsenals, to create agreements on marine forces, and above all, to reduce tactical nuclear weapons, and finally to eliminate them. Lying directly on the contact line between the two military coalitions and under special threat from these weapons, the GDR proposed to the FRG in December 1987 that negotiations be started on the reduction of these weapons and that nuclear medium-range missiles, which were to be abolished, should not be replaced by new weapons.

In the future as well, the GDR will support and promote everything which improves the security situation in this very sensitive zone. This also includes the formation of a nuclear weapon-free corridor and a chemical weapons free zone. Anyone who rejects possible solutions on this, for whatever reason, is making themselves hostage to these weapons.

The citizens of socialist Germany place great hopes in the forthcoming negotiations. They expect that all participant states will take into account the experiences of past negotiations, and will be guided by objectivity, perceptiveness, and readiness, for compromise. Anything which is opposed to the aim of achieving significantly fewer troops and arms on all sides must be halted. They hope that concerns will be taken seriously and will be removed from the world by joint efforts.

They demand that the security needs of all participants be respected and guaranteed by soley political means. The path toward the age of long-term detente and prosperous cooperation leads via arms limitation and disarmament. If this is complex, it nevertheless remains the only viable way.

There is no responsible alternative. What is required is the willingness, in words and deeds, of all states. The GDR will do what it can. It will always be an accountable and constructive partner, in matters of peace, international security, and cooperation to ensure the well-being and peaceful future of the nations.

Thank you for your attention.

SFRY's Loncar Meets Counterparts

LD0703195389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, had meetings with the foreign ministers of the USSR, Bulgaria, Romania, the CSSR, the FRG, Italy, Spain, Greece, Norway, and Sweden yesterday and today.

Loncar discussed the problems of political asylum and visas with FRG Foreign Minister Genscher. All aspects of the problems were examined.

During talks with Bulgarian, Romanian, and Greek Foreign Ministers Mladenov, Totu, and Papoulias, special attention was devoted to the further development of Balkan multilateral cooperation.

During the exchange of views with FRG, Spanish, Italian, and Greek Foreign Ministers Genscher, Fernandez Ordonez, Andreotti, and Papoulias, special attention was devoted to relations between Yugoslavia and the EC, taking into consideration the economic reforms in Yugoslavia and the announced program of the new government in Belgrade which encourages the expansion of cooperation between Yugoslavia and the EC.

Loncar and Shevardnadze noted that the process of reforms in Yugoslavia and the USSR required changes in the sphere of mutual cooperation to maintain the dynamism of cooperation in the economy and to overcome the current problems.

During the meetings and talks with Norway's Foreign Minister Stoltenberg and Sweden's Andersson, emphasis was placed on relations between Yugoslavia and the EFTA.

All the speakers demonstrated interest in the present situation in Yugoslavia and expressed the conviction that Yugoslavia will overcome its present political problems.

Loncar's meetings with the foreign ministers of a number of European countries were part of the CSCE consultations in Vienna.

Mladenov Meets European Ministers

AU0803081689 Sofia BTA in English 2222 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna, March 7 (special BTA corr.)—Mr Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's foreign affairs minister, had talks today in this country with his Dutch counterpart, Mr Hans van den Broek. The two ministers confirmed their countries' readiness to continue to develop their relations in the spirit of the new positive trends on the international stage. They exchanged thoughts on the tasks and prospects for the new negotiations for reductions of the conventional armed forces and the initiatives for strengthening of confidence and security in Europe and marked their significance for the deepening of the all-European process.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Hans van den Broek informed each other on the internal development and the foreign political activity of their countries. The Dutch minister showed great interest in the development and prospects of the economic reform in Bulgaria. The two ministers mapped out concrete trends for the development of Bulgaro-Dutch cooperation in concert with the general enrichment of the East-West dialogue in the political, economic and cultural spheres.

Mr Petur Mladenov met today with his Spanish counterpart, Mr Francisco Fernandez Ordonez. They discussed a number of aspects of the relations between the two countries and in particular the prospects for the further development of political relations. The two ministers exchanged opinions on the negotiations on reductions of the conventional armed forces in Europe which start in Vienna and noted their significance as a qualitatively new phase in the East-West dialogue.

In the talks they considered a number of other issues of mutual interest.

Mr Petur Mladenov met today with his Greek counterpart Mr Karolos Papoulias. They considered the solution of some concrete issues, coming out of the agreements, reached between the two countries during the recent meeting of the two ministers in Sofia. They also considered the prospects of the new Vienna negotiations and confirmed Bulgaria and Greece's readiness to contribute to their success.

CSSR's Johannes Evaluates Talks

LD0803151689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] At the conclusion of the 3-day meeting of the foreign ministers of 33 European countries, the United States, and Canada, CSSR Minister Jaromir Johanes granted an interview to our journalists accredited in Vienna. Our special correspondent Bohumil Horak will acquaint you with it now:

[Horak] Minister Johanes termed the results of the meeting positive. We see the exceptional significance of this meeting, he said, in that for the first time in the history of our continent, the foreign ministers of all the European countries, the United States, and Canada met to discuss exclusively the theme of conventional disarmament and strengthening trust among nations on the basis of the decision of the Vienna follow-up meeting. The meeting prepared the ground for the further development of a serious multilateral dialogue on doing away with the high level of military confrontation and mutual suspicion and mistrust.

Predominating in the ministers' addresses, Jaromir Johanes went on to say, were constructive attempts to seek possibilities for building a common European home under conditions of peace and military relaxation. They reflected the spirit of the new political thinking, to whose development the USSR and the other socialist countries are contributing so significantly.

All the participants confirmed with special emphasis the identical points of view on the need to do away with the potential to carry out sudden attacks and to launch large offensive operations. However, views differed on how to achieve this goal. The clarification of these complex questions is the task of the delegations to the Vienna consultative forums that will begin their work tomorrow.

In his interview with Czechoslovak journalists, Jaromir Johanes went on to say: We used this meeting to express support for the joint proposals of the Warsaw Pact member states to hold two new rounds of talks, in whose setting-up we actively participated. We also explained our ideas on how to contribute to security in Europe as efficiently as possible by using and implementing the proposals of Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, for setting up a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states.

Romania's Totu Addresses Talks

AU0703195789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 7 Mar 89

["The Considerations and Proposals of Romania, of President Nicolae Ceausescu on the Issues of Disarmament, Confidence- and Security-Building in Europe, Presented by the Romanian Foreign Minister at the Vienna Meeting"—AGERPRES headline; date not given]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 7/3/1989—Taking the floor at the Vienna meeting of foreign ministers of the

European states, the U.S. and Canada marking the beginning of negotiations on the conventional armed forces in Europe and the endorsement of new measures of confidence-building and security in the continent, the Romanian Foreign Minister Ioan Totu assessed that the opening of the two new forums of negotiations was an event of major importance in the life of Europe.

Recalling his country's stands and actions related to the objective necessity to halt the arms race, pass on to actual disarmament, that should extend to all types of weapons, based on a unitary approach to the issue of eliminating the mass destruction weapons /nuclear, chemical and other kinds/ [slantlines as received] and welcoming the development that allowed for the beginning of the current negotiations, the Romanian foreign minister presented the following considerations and proposals of Romania, of President Nicolae Ceausescu:

1. In connection with the negotiations on armed forces and conventional weapons:

Actions should be taken for the ensurance of a military balance at ever lower levels of arming so that such a situation be created in Europe in which the states have only a bare necessity of armed forces and armament for defense.

As for the specific ways of attaining such a goal, Romania suggests the following:

—The two military alliances should pass on to reducing weapons and troops so that till the year 2000 they should account for 50 percent of the current level. The cuts should be applied to the whole area which makes the object of negotiations and not only to certain geographical zones.

In a first phase, the arms and troops reduction should account for 25-30 percent. In this framework, considering the quantitative and qualitative factors of troops, weapons and military techniques as well as other factors—geographical and strategic, the existing imbalances should be eliminated, and balanced, (?rational) ceilings be agreed upon.

We hold the view that the cuts should not be made automatically for all countries but proportionally, function of the arming degree. The states with a stronger military potential should apply a higher percentage of cuts.

The troops to be reduced be demobilized, while the weapons destroyed or transferred to be used in various ways for peaceful purposes. The reductions should be made under an efficient control of both the measures and the pledges regarding the armed forces and armaments left.

—The cuts in weapons and troops should be paralleled by those in military spending—50 percent till 2000, of which 25-30 percent in a first phase.

The participating states should undertake, under unilateral pledges, not to use the financial means released for other military purposes. In this respect, they should voluntarily mention the economic and social domains to which they will streamline the sums saved and, in a next phase, include the military spending cuts in the specific accords to be concluded, making them the object of control measures.

—The limits should be set with regard to the total number of troops and weapons a state can emplace outside its national territory.

—The accords to be negotiated should include limited ceilings for each alliance and for each state, especially for the states with a greater military share or for those lying at the contact line between the two alliances.

If the distribution of cuts were made between the states affiliated to a military alliance, the criteria should be established according to which limited ceilings should be distributed by countries within the respective alliance. They should consider the qualitative factors of the troops and weapons, the size of the territory which should be defended and the geo-strategic position.

—Attention should be paid with priority to the reduction of armaments having a big offensive capacity, such as tanks, large-caliber artillery, armours, certain types of military aircraft, as well as of the landing forces and airborne troops, of the amphibious assault units.

—Moreover, in parallel with measures to reduce armaments, troops and military expenditures, a passage should also be made to reducing the production of armaments, and certain military enterprises should be converted to peaceful production.

—Given the complexity of the task of defining a balance of forces as realistic as possible and of establishing a balance by categories of weapons, the states should resort, in order to spur the negotiations, to unilateral (not negotiated) measures applying both to the armed forces and armaments that are the object of negotiations and to other military forces which do not make the object of negotiations but are taken into account in the overall reckoning of the balance of forces. Such measures may take the form of reductions, re-dislocations, transfers, etc.

2. As far as the negotiations on adoption of new confidence- and security-building measures are concerned, Romania starts from the results obtained at the Stockholm conference.

We consider that the provisions of the document of the Stockholm conference constitute a good building block for the attainment of the goals of the new negotiations. At the same time, we notice that the measures adopted at Stockholm have not led to a diminution in the intensity and scope of military activities on the continent, or to the reduction of the capacity of launching an armed attack.

In the view of Romania, the "negotiations of the 35" will have to mark a new stage through transition from the statement of the goal of greater confidence and previsibility to the actual limitation of conditions that can enable the launching of a surprise attack or of wide-scale offensive actions.

In this respect, we propose the following:

—The new generation of confidence- and security-building measures should cover the diminution of the intensity and scope of military activities; renunciation of certain activities which may generate distrust and tension; limitation of the possibility of wide-scale offensive actions; establishment of measures to prevent nuclear mishaps.

—Moreover, given the organic integration between various categories of weapons, the new generation of confidence- and security-building measures will have to cover also the activities of the marine military forces and the air forces which will be an object of negotiation.

—During the negotiations, measures should be agreed upon in connection with: Establishment of security zones and corridors along the borders between states and on the line of contact between the two military blocs; limitation and reduction of military activities to the levels established; prevention of the growth of tension, by prohibiting the dislocation of new troops, the development and emplacement of new bases, in the territory of other states; limitation of the transfer of troops and armaments from outside into the zone where the measures apply.

—Of great importance for building confidence and security is the adoption of measures on: Freezing military expenditures at the current level and starting negotiations on their subsequent reduction; creating zones of peace, cooperation and good neighbourliness free from nuclear and chemical weapons, in the Balkans, central and northern Europe and in other regions.

—Romania also proposes prohibition of maneuvers and movements involving ships and aircraft carrying nuclear weapons nearby the land and maritime frontiers of other states; refraining from organizing military activities in the vicinity of peaceful nuclear facilities and chiefly of nuclear power plants.

—Measures should be taken to enhance the communication and cooperation between states, which would contribute to building confidence in such areas as: Exchange of military information, notification of military activities and acceptance of observers; development of European contacts, consultations and systems of communication on security matters.

Minister Ioan Totu further said:

Presenting these considerations and proposals on conventional disarmament, Romania underlines the necessity that the negotiations in this field be organically in line with the broader goal of general and total disarmament, the centerpiece of which is nuclear disarmament.

In this sense, we think that defence should not be conceived through the so-called "nuclear deterrence." Achievement of general and total disarmament, of nuclear one first and foremost, should start from the concept of ensuring a necessary minimum for defence. This calls for renunciation of the production of nuclear and chemical weapons, of any other arms of mass destruction.

Measures should be adopted for halting the modernization and improvement of nuclear weaponry, for renouncing the emplacement of new nuclear weapons in the European continent. Therefore, Romania proposes that in parallel with the negotiations on conventional disarmament efforts should be made for freeing Europe from nuclear arms so that the European peoples should be spared the danger of a devastating war.

To this end, Romania proposes the setting up of a special negotiating forum for questions regarding nuclear weapons in Europe.

Romania has always maintained that the major international problems, particularly those regarding peace and security, are of direct concern for all states which should, therefore, have the opportunity of participating directly in their examination and resolution.

The fact that in this stage the negotiations on conventional armed forces are conducted only among the 23 states participant in military alliances should in no way affect this principle.

We think that the major goal of the negotiations and of the measures that will be agreed upon should be the creation of conditions conducive to the simultaneous dismantlement of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO.

We wish also to affirm most clearly that in Romania's opinion the "negotiations of the 23" are not negotiations between two military blocs but among 23 independent and sovereign states, conducted on the basis of full equality. They are carried on within the CSCE and shall have to be governed by its principles and rules of procedure. We consider this as only a temporary arrangement, and the neutral and nonaligned states have the possibility to join the talks later, so that the negotiations on conventional disarmament be conducted in the natural framework of the 35 states participant in the CSCE.

Europe can fulfil its mission in problems regarding peace and disarmament only if it is a Europe united in its diversity of social system, philosophical and political

conceptions, of free and independent nations which should work for peace, disarmament and understanding, for collaboration and economic and social progress.

In his address, the Romanian foreign minister stressed that Romania, which has always and steadily pursued in every circumstance a principled policy on all international matters, in harmony with the fundamental interests of the Romanian people, of international peace, understanding and collaboration, would not divert from that policy.

We think, the speaker said, the Warsaw Treaty states' proposals and actions with regard to the object of these negotiations prove their determination to substantially cut back on conventional weapons and military spending. The NATO countries, he pointed out, also advanced proposals apt to help a realistic and constructive approach to conventional disarmament-related problems.

The opening of the two negotiating fora, the Romanian foreign minister said in conclusion represents one of the concrete, positive results of the Vienna meeting. That was possible through a constructive, sustained collaboration of all the states signatories to the Final Act, and by taking into consideration their legitimate interests and the position of all of them on the basis of mutual respect. The responsible way in which the negotiations on establishing the mandates of the two fora developed is auspicious for the forthcoming negotiations.

Poland's Olechowski Addresses CFE Talks Opening
LD0703180289 Warsaw PAP in English
1725 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna, Mar. 7—Poland's Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski addressed a meeting opening negotiations on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and negotiations on confidence and security building measures here today. Excerpts:

The negotiations that we inaugurate today can open up a new chapter in building a stable and secure Europe. This chance must not be wasted.

We expect that the existing bloc and national structures will be subordinated to a joint structure of European security that we should work out jointly here.

This is Poland's sincere desire. In our country, we adopt a principle of defensive sufficiency and we are ready to descend to this level along with our partners. We expressed our will by resolving to unilaterally reduce the Polish Armed Forces and military expenditures and to re-organize the Army's structures.

As a result of these decisions, the Polish Armed Forces will be reduced over the next two years by 40,000 soldiers, 850 tanks, 900 cannons and mortars, 700 armoured personnel carriers and 80 combat planes.

There is no such a type of weapon that we would not like to talk about and submit to jointly agreed reductions. We are ready to include our forces in the first reductions envisaged by an agreement reached at the just starting negotiations. Poland's stand at these negotiations will be marked primarily by openness that is an emanation of our openness in domestic and foreign matters.

We entered the postulate of living up to society's expectations in the mandate of the Polish delegation. We want the agreement to entail the "cheapening" of security.

Poland's security interests will be a plane of reference for our actions. Remaining a credible ally, we want at the same time the negotiations to be able to overcome old stereotypes and the dualistic way of viewing European problems in terms of opposing two political and military groupings, the East and the West.

Poland sets itself the goal to implement the idea of common security based on partnership.

We actively sought a new formula of conventional disarmament in Europe together with our allies. We worked on a vision of a new generation of confidence building measures and listened carefully to responses. We tried to take them into account and to enrich and specify our platform through this. The platform's political framework is reflected by the declaration of the Warsaw conference of the Political Consultative Committee of July 1988 and the declaration of the Budapest meeting of the Committee of the Foreign Ministers of the States-Parties to the Warsaw Treaty of October 1988. An outline of the negotiation proposals, presented yesterday in this forum by Eduard Shevardnadze, is based on a joint platform reflecting also the Polish point of view.

We wanted to make the plan to decrease armaments and increase confidence in central Europe, forwarded by Wojciech Jaruzelski, a Polish contribution to the intensive search of new disarmament thought. We wanted to contribute to a better exchange of ideas and views between future participants in the talks.

We did not envisage for the plan to be discussed at some separate central-European forum. We associated its outcome with European negotiation planes from the very start. We think that each of its elements can be negotiated and put into effect separately. We noted with satisfaction that (the content of the plan) has been reflected in a common platform of states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty and met with the interest of our partners in the West.

We wish for the negotiations beginning now to signify that the content of the plan and the matter associated with it, enter a stage of negotiations. We believe that there will be room for them at the negotiating table, in line with their mandates.

The negotiations of the 23 nations face a special challenge. This stems both from the military rank of the problems, the degree of their complexity as well as the failed experience of past attempts at their solution in somewhat narrower groups. That is why it is important to set them on a constructive, dynamic course from the very start. We have not doubts that this is fully feasible. There is a sufficient number of convergent elements to expand the common denominator on this basis. The Polish delegation will act in this spirit.

In the name of Poland I would like to advance several political concepts which in our understanding could be conducive to the positive course of negotiations.

First: We propose to jointly accept that we will be ready to bring about the first militarily significant agreement no later than the beginning of the next main meeting of the CSCE in Helsinki.

Second: Let us place in the forefront the criteria of a desired state of the military situation, particularly those regulations which are indispensbale and possible in the nearest future. Let us not assess today's state of affairs, let us not make the casues which led to it the subject of debate in itself. Let us, on the other hand, focus on the future.

Let us approach data, its scope. ways of determination and verification not so much from the perspective of what is but above all from the perspective of verifying what will remain following the reductions.

Third: Let us steer the negotiations in the direction of determining target ceilings which would satisfy criteria of a mandate. Let these ceilings above all cover such kinds of arms as would be conducive to the elimination of capability to launch a surprise attack. Let them remove the hitherto assymetries and disproportions. Let them ensure balance on lowered levels, significantly lower the lumpsum balance of potentials and the potential of each of the sides.

Let us also try to determine such parametres of balance which would take account of the specific character of the military situation in respective regions. Let the general lowering of potentials at the same time envisage a considerable rarifying and lowering of the offensive character of potentials in those territories where its concentration and threat of use are the greatest.

Fourth: Let us seek simple and clear solutions. Let us not artificially narrow down the margin of security. Let it be broad enough to release the debate from the complex of "counting bead by bead."

Fifth: Let us politically support our negotiators. Let us seek a political key to problems in which a technical-expertise approach might give not result. [sentence as received] Let us use every opportunity for meetings on a political level to analyze the situation at negotiations and deliver a supporting impetus for them. Let us refrain from activities which could hamper the negotiations' success.

In the group of 35 states we will work on a new set of security and confidence building measures. The work in this respect has a good springboard, namely the Stockholm document.

The negotiations should enrich the process of building confidence in the military field, adjust it to the requirements of the current situation, use progress in military detente. This is an important, autonomous task. Its significance can in no way be overcast by the efforts for conventional disarmament.

The new generation of measures should also help reduce the threat of a surprise attack. What matters first of all is to adhere to the requirement of a restrained military activity in times of peace, to remove a serious source of distrust posed by the dimension of military activity of the opponent. What also matters is to expand the sphere of military activity connected with confidence-building measures, to complement them withan independent activity of air and navy forces. We also perceive a possibility to increase military information, to expand contacts, possibilities of operative consultations.

The experience in the implementation of the Stockholm document should be taken into account. However, this should not be tantamount to re-negotiating the document. For the CSCE process should only aim at increasing the common denominator of agreements.

We would be glad to see the discussion reflect questions of military doctrines. We come out for CSCE participants starting a constructive discussion parallelly to negotiations on military doctrines. To this end we undertake, together with the Federal Republic of Germany, an initiative to hold a representative seminar on military doctrines, strategies and concepts which would take place in June this year.

On the two forums of negotiations, the Polish delegation will advocate a quick progress towards the essential negotiations, towards drafting agreements. We want to actively search for convergent points.

We want to contribute to maintaining a favourable climate around the negotiations. We are of the opinion that their success would be given impetus by a summit meeting of the countries of Europe, the United States and Canada on the key problems of security and disarmament on this continent.

Filipov, Others Return From Prague Conference

AU0903120289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Mar 89 p 6

[Text] A delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, headed by Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and BCP Central Committee secretary, returned from Prague yesterday. The delegation had participated in a conference of Central Committee secretaries in charge of economic questions from communist and workers parties of CEMA member countries.

The delegation was welcomed at Sofia airport by several officials, including CSSR Ambassador Vaclav Janousek.

'Joint Announcement' Issued on Olechowski Visit

AU0303145089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Mar 89 p 6

["Joint Announcement" on the visit of Tadeusz Olechowski, minister of foreign affairs of Poland, to Bulgaria from 27 February through 1 March 1989]

[Text] Tadeusz Olechowski, minister of foreign affairs of the Polish People's Republic, paid a visit to Bulgaria from 27 February to 1 March 1989, at the invitation of Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The minister of foreign affairs of the Polish People's Republic was received by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and by Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers.

During their talks the ministers of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and of the Polish People's Republic briefed each other on the implementation of fundamental political and economic reforms which are under way in their two countries. The basic coincidence between the goals of restructuring and renewal of socialism in Bulgaria and Poland and the restructuring in the Soviet Union was pointed out during the talks.

The great importance of the meetings between Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR State Council, in the development of relations between the two fraternal countries in all sectors was pointed out.

The two ministers of foreign affairs noted that the program on the development of cooperation between the BCP and the PZPR in the spheres of politics, economy, science, and culture mapped out for the period up to the year 2000 provides a qualitatively new meaning in bilateral relations.

The two ministers stressed that personal contacts between people are important factors for closer mutual relations between the two peoples, and voiced their support for expanding such relations. In this connection, they pointed out that it would be expedient to further facilitate mutual visits between citizens of the two countries, including an exchange of tourists.

Evaluating the state of economic cooperation between the two countries as positive on the whole, the two sides stressed the existence of untapped opportunities in this sphere. They declared themselves in favor of expanding cooperation on the basis of updated forms, such as direct production relations and the establishment of joint enterprises and companies. The two ministers pointed out the necessity of effective measures so that the exchange of goods between the two countries may become more dynamic. The concept of developing economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Polish People's Republic for the period up to 2005 represents a favorable basis for progress in this respect.

Petur Mladenov and Tadeusz Olechowski stressed that the intensification of friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and Poland serves the interests of both peoples and contributes to the consolidation of unity and cohesion among the socialist community member-countries. They also observed that the two states have expressed their favorable stand on improving the mechanism of cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and on restructuring the work of CEMA, a fact that will contribute to the establishment of a common market of socialist countries.

The two ministers stated with satisfaction that, as a result of the dynamic and constructive foreign policy conducted by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, based on the new political thinking, and thanks to the political realism manifested by state and political circles in the West, positive changes have occurred in international relations, and a transition from confrontation to dialogue, to the consolidation of mutual confidence and cooperation is underway.

Mikhail Gorbachev's speech to the 43d session of the UN General Assembly, which submitted a broad, political platform of democratization, demilitarization, and humanization in international relations, is of programmatic importance in this respect.

The two ministers of foreign affairs expressed their satisfaction at the successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting of participants in the CSCE which opened a new era in the development of East-West relations on the European Continent.

The two sides expressed their countries' will and aspiration to have the negotiations beginning within the forthcoming week on reducing armed forces and conventional

arms from the Atlantic to the Urals, as well as the negotiations on strengthening confidence and security measures, promptly result in meaningful agreements.

Petur Mladenov and Tadeusz Olechowski stated that the establishment of official relations between CEMA and the EC essentially contributes to the development of businesslike, all-European cooperation.

The two ministers stressed the importance of the problems related to ecological security in Europe and expressed their countries' readiness to actively participate in the development of effective environmental protection measures all over the continent and in separate regions.

Petur Mladenov and Tadeusz Olechowski confirmed the fact that the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Polish People's Republic will resolutely work for the implementation of the coordinated foreign policy conducted by the Warsaw Pact member states, aimed at establishing a world free of weapons. The recently announced unilateral reductions of their two countries' armed forces and military budgets are a confirmation of this statement.

The two sides pointed out that the inviolability of borders, the observance of existing territorial-political realities, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, and the observance of all other universally recognized principles and norms of interstate relations represent an invariable precondition for the preservation of lasting peace and security in Europe.

Petur Mladenov confirmed that the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to support the program on the reduction of arms and on increasing confidence in central Europe, known as the "Jaruzelski Plan."

Tadeusz Olechowski stressed that the consistent efforts of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to establish a nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zone in the Balkans contribute to the consolidation of security and mutual confidence on the continent.

The two ministers hailed the withdrawal of Soviet troops in Afghanistan which is taking place on schedule. They declared themselves in favor of the peaceful and total settlement of the Afghanistan problem without any interference from abroad whatsoever, and under strict observance of the agreements signed in Geneva by all parties involved.

The two ministers adopted a plan on mutual consultations and cooperation between their two ministries during their talks.

The talks proceeded in an open-minded and cordial atmosphere, with full unanimity of opinions and evaluations on all questions discussed.

Tadeusz Olechowski, minister of foreign affairs of the Polish People's Republic, invited Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to pay a visit to Poland. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Mladenov's Talks With Greece's Papoulias Hailed

AU0703210989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Mar 89 p 7

[Editorial article: "Excellent, Promising Relations"]

[Text] "Relations between Bulgaria and Greece are developing splendidly," Karolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs of Greece, declared last Friday [3 March] upon his arrival in our country. He repeated this evaluation even before he departed, following his meeting with Comrade Todor Zhivkov and his talks with Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs. Following the successful new page in the annals of the Bulgarian-Greek dialogue, we cannot help but to share this sentiment. This is because the statement truly reflects the high stage of development reached in the political relations between our two neighbor countries, a stage achieved with goodwill, friendship, and with constructive efforts. These relations clearly show how meaningful, fruitful, and constructive a cooperation between states with different social systems, states belonging to two different military-political and economic blocks, can be. Today, we realize with satisfaction that the new political thinking encompasses ever expanding territories of international life, and we should point out with satisfaction that numerous principles of this new political thinking have been implemented in Bulgarian-Greek relations; that a friendship and goodneighborly relationship has been established, based not on opportunistic considerations, and not directed against any other country, but based on the principled policy of the common striving for the peoples' well-being and prosperity, for the construction of a peaceful world.

The 2-day friendly visit paid by the Greek minister proceeded "without protocol," as Karolos Papoulias told the journalists, while a wide range of issues were discussed—questions related to bilateral relations, to topical, international problems and to the Balkan situation. Similar or identical stands of the two sides on the questions reviewed were confirmed, and it was stressed that relations between Bulgaria and Greece are of great importance for the atmosphere in the Balkans, that a number of joint initiatives have evoked a positive response both in our geographical area as well as in the rest of Europe. The importance of traditional meetings between the first leaders of Bulgaria and Greece—Todor Zhivkov and Andreas Papandreou—which are directing and stimulating the current dialogue, are also consolidating the atmosphere of friendship and understanding between the two countries. During the talks, opportunities were discussed related to bilateral relations in the field of economy, culture, and human relations, so that they may expand and be enriched.

The Bulgarian-Greek talks confirmed the two countries' resolve to make their contribution to the successful proceedings of the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of conventional weapons and on confidence-building and security measures in Europe, as well as for the successful continuation of the multilateral Balkan dialogue. This resolve is in full accordance with the goals and aspirations of the two neighboring countries, which have chosen the path of goodneighborly relations and cooperation in their peoples' interests, in the interest of peace and understanding.

Joint Communique on Ramadan's Visit Issued
AU2402130689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Feb 89 pp 1, 4

[Text] At the invitation of Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and first deputy prime minister of the Republic of Iraq, made an official friendly visit to Bulgaria on 21 and 22 February 1989.

Taha Yasin Ramadan was received by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic Bulgaria, to whom he handed a written message from Saddam Husayn, president of the Republic of Iraq and chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, and also conveyed the latter's best wishes for his personal good health and happiness, and for the advancement and prosperity of the friendly Bulgarian people. For his part, Todor Zhivkov asked that his warmest greetings and good wishes be conveyed to Saddam Husayn for the latter's health and happiness, and for the advance and prosperity of the Iraqi people.

The eminent guest laid a wreath at the Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum.

Official talks, which passed in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, were held between Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and first deputy prime minister of the Republic of Iraq. During the talks, the two sides briefed one another on current events in both countries and on the tasks that they are resolving at the present stage, reviewed the state of bilateral relations and the ways for strengthening them, and exchanged views on topical international issues.

It was noted with satisfaction that the relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Iraq are developing successfully in accordance with the agreements reached at the summit meeting between the two countries and with the intergovernmental agreements and accords in force.

The benefit of the Bulgarian-Iraqi political dialogue was confirmed, and the common desire was expressed to further develop bilateral cooperation in all spheres in the interest of both friendly peoples and of world peace and security.

It was stressed that economic cooperation plays an important part in the bilateral relations, and that a good basis exists for expanding this cooperation in the future. It was assessed that the scientific and technical cooperation and cultural links were developing well and successfully.

During the visit, the 20th session of the Joint Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation was held. A protocol was signed in the presence of Georgi Atanasov and Taha Yasin Ramadan that specified in concrete form the cooperation in 1989 in the economic, trade, scientific, and technical fields.

The Iraqi side briefed the Bulgarian side on the grounds for the creation of the Arab Cooperation Council, which in the view of its founders will promote economic cooperation and lead to economic integration between its members. The founders of the council will welcome any Arab country that wishes to joint them.

The Iraqi side also informed the Bulgarian side about the recent developments in the direct negotiations between Iraq and Iran which started after the ceasefire, and about Iraq's efforts to apply all the clauses of Resolution No 598 in the sequence in which they were adopted, in order to achieve a just, comprehensive, and lasting peace. The Iraqi side confirmed the principle of free navigation in the international waters of the gulf and the unhindered passage of all ships through the Strait of Hormuz, as well as the need to clear the Shatt al-'Arab waterway in order to guarantee navigation in this river, which provides Iraq's only outlet into the world's seas.

The Bulgarian side once again confirmed its principled and consistent position regarding the issue of establishing a comprehensive and lasting peace between Iraq and Iran on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution No 598.

The Bulgarian side gave a high assessment of the positive attitude of the Republic of Iraq toward the international initiatives, and voiced confidence that the peace talks will be brought to a successful conclusion.

The Bulgarian side gave a briefing on the situation in the Balkans and on the efforts being made by the People's Republic of Bulgaria to turn the Balkans into a nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zone and to establish goodneighborly relations in the region, and on the progress achieved in this area following the Belgrade meeting of the foreign affairs ministers of the Balkan countries and the all-Balkan forums that followed it.

The Iraqi side highly praised the role that the People's Republic of Bulgaria is playing in the Balkans and its contribution to strengthening peace and understanding in the region and in Europe.

In assessing the international situation, Georgi Atanasov and Taha Yasin Ramadan noted that a new atmosphere is being created in international relations, the threat of nuclear war is receding, a qualitatively new situation has arisen in the political settlement of regional crises, and the center of international life is shifting from confrontation to dialogue, mutual understanding, and cooperation.

They pointed out that a new impetus to the commencing process of transition from the principle of excessive armaments to that of reasonable defense sufficiency was provided by the Soviet decision, announced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations, to unilaterally reduce its Armed Forces by 500,000 men and substantially cut the conventional arms on the territories of its Warsaw Pact allies and in the European and Asiatic parts of the USSR within the next 2 years. They confirmed that the conclusion of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction of the Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive weapons would form a cardinal measure in the disarmament field. The conviction was voiced that all countries should make their own contributions to giving an irreversible character to the process of disarmament and strengthening international peace and security. In this context, the decision of the Bulgarian Government to cut its Armed Forces and military budget was assessed according to its merits. It was stressed that a lasting improvement of international relations can only be achieved on the basis of observing the principles embodied in the UN Charter and international law, respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, noninterference in internal affairs, and settling disputed issues by peaceful means.

During the exchange of views on the situation in Europe, the Bulgarian side expressed its support for convening an all-European "roundtable," with the participation of different political and social forces, which could impart fresh impetus to the political dialogue of the all-European process, utilizing the experience gained in the agreement on the INF Treaty between the USSR and the United States.

In examining the situation in the Middle East, the two sides expressed their solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO against the continuing Israeli occupation, and emphasized that a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict can only be achieved on the basis of the balance of interests of all countries; the UN resolutions on Israel's unconditional and compete withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories; and the implementation of the Arab people's inalienable right to self-determination, through the convening of an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations, with the participation of all parties involved in the conflict, including the representatives of the new Palestinian state.

The two sides welcomed the decisions of the 19th extraordinary session of the Palestinian National Council in Algiers and the declaration of the State of Palestine.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Iraq expressed alarm at the development of events in Lebanon, and their conviction that the settlement of the situation in this country is only possible by peaceful means, on the basis of a national agreement and a political dialogue between the warring forces, while observing the unity, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Lebanon. The aggressive actions of Israel in southern Lebanon, which additionally exacerbated the situation in the country, were sharply condemned.

The two sides noted the growing role of the Nonaligned Movement and its constructive contribution to eliminating the hotbeds of tension in the world and to reorganizing international economic relations.

The two sides voiced satisfaction with the results of the official friendly visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria of Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and first deputy prime minister of the Republic of Iraq, and expressed the conviction that the visit will contribute to the further development of the bilateral relations of friendship and beneficial cooperation in all fields.

Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and first deputy prime minister of the Republic of Iraq, expressed his profound gratitude for the warm reception accorded to him and the delegation accompanying him in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. He invited Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to pay an official visit to the Republic of Iraq. The invitation was accepted with pleasure, and the date of the visit will be fixed later through diplomatic channels.

Politburo Meeting With Intellectuals Praised

AU2402211089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Feb 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Confidence, Dialogue, and Cooperation"]

[Text] The meeting of the BCP Central Committee Politburo with representatives of the intelligentsia—creative artists, scientists, and distinguished figures of the cultural and educational spheres—was an exceptionally important event in our sociopolitical life. This meeting represented an open-minded and honest dialogue between the party leadership and the Bulgarian intelligentsia on crucial issues of restructuring our socialist society. Taking place in a very important period, involving great responsibility, a period in which we are reaching the core of the renewal of socialism, this meeting was an expression of the urgent requirement that each of us should adopt an unmistakable and definite stand on these matters and engage in special, constructive tasks.

This meeting, which represented a further step in the development of the party's valuable traditions in devoting special care to the intelligentsia and engaging in creative and businesslike discussions with the intellectuals in periods of particular and decisive importance for our country's development, was a brilliant new expression of the democratic spirit of our society, of the mutual desire for the further development of the restructuring processes that would be unthinkable without the contribution of our Bulgarian artists and scientists. The report, the introductory, and closing speeches delivered by Comrade Todor Zhivkov were necessary prerequisites for the successful dialogue. These documents characterized by great clarity and openness, comprehensively mapped out the entire complexity and the difficulties in developing the new model for the further construction of socialism in Bulgaria, as well as the problems involved in the initial stage of its practical implementation which are far from being easy to resolve. The documents provided an objective evaluation of the period that followed the victory of socialist revolution in our country, of the party's April Plenum policy, and of its extraordinary role in overcoming the personality cult and in the country's development along the path of socialism.

The new strategy of revolutionary changes following the 13th BCP Congress is the result of a detailed scientific analysis implemented with the participation of a large group of scientists and experts, with the participation of the BCP Central Committee and its Politburo. The current changes are so fundamental and comprehensive that they do not admit any improvisation, or superficial solutions, and measures. As is figuratively expressed in the aforementioned report, "Our progress today is possible only if everything, literally everything passes through the purgatory of revolutionary renewal." This "purge" encompasses social theories, as well as practical experience. The contribution, the role and participation of the Bulgarian intelligentsia in this revolutionary process are beyond any doubt. This is, precisely why, the meeting unmistakably stressed the chief responsibility of scientific, cultural, and educational workers and creative artists related to the fate of restructuring. Not only the party postulate about the intelligentsia as a subject of the intellectual sphere was confirmed, but the new processes and changes in the comprehensive intellectualization of production and in all other spheres of social life were explained with said arguments.

Our party always distinguished itself by the skill timely to reveal urgent problems, processes, and phenomena, to mobilize all social forces in solving these problems. This innovative spirit was brilliantly confirmed by the documents of the BCP Central Committee December Plenum (1988). The new historic essence of our contemporary world raises numerous topical and urgent problems which now face our scientific and cultural sectors and our social life. These developments were further specified at the recent meeting, they were defined as the following urgent tasks awaiting their fulfillment:

—The task of developing productive forces and production relations;

—The task of putting our social system into operation;

—The task of innovating the super-structure and intellectual life;

—The task related to the party and to other spheres which are part of the subjective factor.

The problems and subjects discussed at this important meeting were not chosen by accident. The party seeks the assistance of the intellectuals and proposes cooperation with them in connection with the practical implementation of the aforementioned tasks in order further to develop and intensify the restructuring processes. All these problems are expected to pass through the "purgatory of theory, of social thinking, through the creative laboratory of science, arts, and literature." However, the intellectual sphere, its communities, creative-professional organizations, and all its units need to undergo a fundamental restructuring process in order to become active participants in the implementation of the July Plenum concept in building a new model of socialism in our country. This was the second range of priority problems discussed at the fruitful 2-days meeting. The party's postulate is unmistakable: "Let us engage in controversial arguments, let us express different, and even alternative views, let us even contest the July concept." Truth should be the only criterion in scientific and artistic research.

New initiatives are being adopted to guarantee broad glasnost, initiatives that will provide more information for all our society, a task which applies to our mass media, in particular. The party expressed the view that "more information means more responsibility, more control, and a greater awareness." The establishment of new information standards in our socialist society calls for the restructuring problems to be raised and discussed in public. This should be well understood by certain organizations and institutions, by individual leaders who are still living with the concepts of the past.

The approach to the forthcoming congresses of the creative unions and to the future congresses of science, culture, and education was also clarified at the aforementioned meeting. These important forums will undoubtedly continue the lively debates taking place among scientists and cultural figures. The thesis of implementing fundamental changes in the work of the scientific and artistic-creative intelligentsia by testing new forms and structures of company-based organization, by building up publishing houses, artistic agencies, and other such institutions, by establishing temporary commissions for discussing important draft plans, a committee attached to the Fatherland Front National Council, and organizations on oblast and municipal levels represents a powerful incentive in this respect.

The care of the party extends to all generations and to all strata of the people's intelligentsia. Young and talented people, who were born and raised as the products of revolutionary renewal will be provided wide opportunities for creative development.

Restructuring marked the beginning of a new type of democracy which provides and will further provide opportunities for the development of social organizations and movements, of public associations based on the people's interests. The question of the pluralism of opinions and interests, including political pluralism, was also clarified. The only condition for pluralism is the requirement to stand firmly on the position of socialist principles, to observe the Constitution and the laws of the country. This postulate conforms with the practice in every civilized state, namely, with the requirement not to disseminate political intrigues, not to fan hostility among people, and to preserve society from demagogy and political impurity.

This is the reason why the attitude of the participants in the discussion toward those self-appointed, illegal formations which are registered with foreign radio stations, was unanimous.

The meeting of the BCP Central Committee Politburo with representatives of the intelligentsia was the continuation of a tradition, but it was an act of innovation at the same time from the point of view of the manner in which it proceeded and regarding its contents. An open and honest debate took place discussing a wide range of vitally important problems of restructuring related to all our society and to the intellectual sphere, in particular. The existing difficulties along the path of progress were not omitted. The meeting provided a specific guarantee and prerequisites for new social positions, for the intelligentsia to have in all social spheres. The meeting provided clarity and confidence, it gave a strong impetus to the extensive dialogue which is conducted today among the members of our intelligentsia on the eve of the congresses of creative unions, and in awaiting the congresses of science, culture, and education. The meeting confirmed the unity between party and intellectuals, the readiness of our scientists and creative artists to adopt unmistakable stands in the revolutionary renewal of socialist Bulgaria. The discussion at the meeting provided new ideas, new thoughts, and new sources of inspiration. The first task of party organs and organizations, but also of the participants in the meeting, today, should be to transfer the spirit and substance of these debates to the scientific and educational collectives, to cultural institutions and organizations.

The unmistakable, socialist stands, the readiness for constructive work expressed by the representatives and creative figures of Bulgarian science and culture—this is the source of a strong alliance between the BCP and the intelligentsia in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

'Podkrepa' Alternative Trade Union Described

AU2702123489 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 24 Feb 89 p 2

[Report by Evelina Georgieva and Maya Yankova: "Provoked Report"]

[Excerpts] An application for the registration of the "Independent Association of the Scientific-Technical, Humanitarian, and Creative-Artistic Intelligentsia in Bulgaria" and the "Podkrepa" [support] Trade Union, was filed with the Plovdiv District Court on 13 February. Without waiting for the court decision, (according to the law the period of notice is 1 month), the initiators already "registered" themselves with Radio "Free Europe" and "Deutsche Welle," which for their part, are devoting one broadcast after another to the association.

Despite the fact that we have not been sought as a tribune, we decided to utilize the abundant information that is available, and see things at close range. Judging by the "membership table" the candidate trade union resembles a trade union less than anything else.... In fact it consists of its initiating committee—seven persons and an adviser—citizens of various settlements in Plovdiv and Khaskovo Oblasts. Some of the names are familiar.

We are already in Plovdiv, in a romantic street in the old part of the city, in front of the house of the poet Petur Manolov. In addition to the human concern with his health, we are also led by a journalistic reason—he serves as an "adviser" to "Podkrepa." However, nobody opens the door. While we are waiting another visitor comes, one who apparently knows how to ring the bell properly so that he can be heard; he enters, before we could introduce ourselves and join him. Later on we shall learn from the host himself that the person was the priest Blagoy Topuzliev.

However, the door also opens for us. This happened after a telephone call, during which we explained our intentions, while the other side apologized for the inhospitable bell. We were kindly received.

Petur Manolov is already sufficiently alert for meetings. [passage omitted]

Of course, we must hear also the other initiators, therefore Petur Manolov arranges a meeting with the chairman, Dr Konstantin Trenchev, from Stara Zagora.

The communications function perfectly. Within a few hours almost the entire initiative committee gathers: the secretary, Ognyan Velchev, social studies teacher from Muglezh; the treasurer, Dimitur Boyadzhiev, and his wife, Diyana Boyadzhieva, spokesperson—a family of freelance painters from Plovdiv; Koyana Ivanona, student at the Stara Zagora Higher Medical Institute and member of the "central leadership;" and of course, the chairman, Dr Konstantin Trenchev, assistant at the department of general and clinical pathology at the same

institute. He is on sick leave, and the meeting takes place in his father's spacious apartment. The average age of the participants is 30 years. Before we switched on our tape recorder, something to which all participants agreed, we were given the draft charter, which, so we learned, had been sent to our Editorial Board the previous day.

Here is the essential part of our 2-hour conversation:

Question: How and why did the idea of this enterprise emerge?

Trencheva: If one follows the Bulgarian mass media one notices the abundant cases of encroachment upon the intellectual work on the part of the administrative-bureaucratic apparatus, and various dishonest colleagues. We are all familiar with the incredible difficulties of the inventors and innovators. This is one of the reasons. The rest are personal, and each of us can explain them. [passage omitted]

Question: Why did you select precisely the form of a trade union?

Velchev: Because we think that the trade union is the most suitable form for increasing the level of a given country's intelligentsia.

Question: What trade union model do you have in mind?

Trenchev: You are trying to draw an analogy with "Solidarity." Such an analogy is inappropriate, because neither I nor any of those attending this meeting are familiar with the "Solidarity" program. The model, beyond any doubt, is our trade unions!

Velchev: Let me answer this question in a methodological manner. We know about the trade union movement in the West. It also applies certain models of the socialist way of life, such as self-management, this not even being a part of some pluralism in these countries. However, we think that restructuring and glasnost under socialism permit a different interpretation of a general idea. If the issue is our relations with the Central Trade Union, then let me say the following: let the intellectuals themselves look internally at their own situation. We are already speaking about socialist competition and pluralism. May the competition with the Central Trade Union (if our trade union is registered) improve the level of Bulgarian intelligentsia. [passage omitted]

Question: Your draft charter envisages financing by Western enterprises. Who are they?

Trenchev: I think that by registering with the ILO we will obtain its financial support. We will also turn to other trade union—French, Italian, Russian, and so forth.

Question: However, in France there are many trade unions....

Trenchev: Yes, I only know their abbreviated names.... I shall inform myself in this aspect. However, we rely very much on the French trade unions, because there is no language barrier—I am a graduate of the French high school.

Question: Your initiative committee includes members of the so-called Independent Association on Human Rights in Plovdiv—the Boyadzhiev family, you yourself.... Is there any connection, except the personal one, between the association and the trade union you plan?

Trenchev: No, the connection is only ostensible. As we said in the broadcasts, the clear conscience and the conviction that we are on the right way are our only weapons. [passage omitted] We are against all forms of fascist, antireligious, antidemocratic, and other kinds of propaganda.

Question: Do you subscribe to antisocialist propaganda?

All: No.

Velchev: Firmly, no! This is pointed out in the draft charter, which is the only factor that connects me with the initiative committee. This is my point of view as a nonmember of the Plovdiv group....

The telephone rings. Again it is the regular "bridge" to Radio "Free Europe." We had the opportunity to watch the seance at close range. The "spokesperson" Diyana Boyadzhieva, grabs the telephone, and agreeing to make a statement, reads the draft charter loud and clear. Three to four densely written pages. The announcers of the distant radio station do not interrupt her—obvious money is no problem for them. According to statistical information, the sponsors, among whom there is the CIA, have recently increased their subsidies in a substantial manner.

The readers have probably sensed the taste of this cocktail—phraseology, personal failures and bitterness, vanity, ambitions, imitation, and...much fog. Our interlocutors have assumed the great task of expressing the interests and solving the problems of the entire Bulgarian intelligentsia. This is a task that is now divided among such powerful formations as the people's councils, the creative and scientific unions, trade unions, sociopolitical state organs.... No matter what shortcomings these organs have in their work, they have their own structure, experience, rights, and obligations to decide and supervise.... We can imagine the chances of such a competition and the efficiency of the assistance offered for "improving the level of the Bulgarian intelligentsia." (The voice of the intelligentsia was heard at the recent meeting with the BCP Central Committee Politburo.) [passage omitted]

However, there is another aspect that must not be ignored. No matter how frivolous we consider the case we described, no matter what feelings it evokes, it

nevertheless invokes certain serious matters and real problems, mainly about the bureaucracy, the unfinished job of the trade unions, and about the importance of turning restructuring into a profound and tangible phenomenon. [passage omitted]

Scientific-Technical Unions Congress Opens

AU0103194589 Sofia BTA in English 1831 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Sofia, March 1 (BTA)—The restructuring of the techno-scientifical unions in compliance with the socio-economic reforms to the interest of the acceleration of the techno-scientifical progress is a major topic of the 8th congress of the organization which started in this country today. [passage omitted]

More than 600 leading scholars and experts are discussing at the congress the basic branches for improvement of the organization structure of the techno-scientifical intelligentsia, for more flexible, dynamic and efficient work of the intellectuals in the restructuring and modernization of economy. Delegations of the techno-scientifical organizations of Vietnam, the G.D.R, Cuba, Poland, the Soviet Union, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, Syria and Yugoslavia participate in the work of the congress. [passage omitted]

Prof Ivan Popov, chairman of the central union of the organization read a report on the restructuring of the techno-scientifical unions. He proposed that the unions would convert to a federation of the techno-scientifical associations and pointed out that with the introduction of the federal structure the organization of the techno-scientifical intelligentsia would become more democratic and efficient and will provide conditions for greater independence and self-management of all members of the federation.

Major topic of the statements is the draft statute of the federation.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 1 March 1989 reports on the same event, adding that "Comrades Grisha Filipov and Petur Dyulgerov attended the opening of the congress."]

Army Daily Comments on Situation in Kosovo

AU0703205889 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 6 Mar 89 p 3

[Commentary by Major Vladi Vladkov: "Kosovo—An Epicenter"]

[Text] The situation in Kosovo already reached the highest point of unrest and tension has been slowly decreasing. Nevertheless, on the basis of the events of last week, some commentators described this autonomous province as the epicenter of a new political earthquake in Yugoslavia.

Kosovo is an autonomous province of the SR of Serbia—one of the six republics of the Yugoslav federation. It has 2 million inhabitants, the overwhelming majority, namely 80 percent of the population, being of Albanian nationality. This province of Yugoslavia is economically and socially lagging behind the others. The majority of the population is illiterate.

These characteristic features were used as an argument by certain nationalities as early as in 1981—following Tito's death—when overt clashes took place between Albanian chauvinists and the forces of law and order.

The present explosion of nationalist feelings was triggered by the efforts of certain circles in that province who tried to oppose the decision of the 22d LCY Central Committee Plenum to remove Azem Vlasi, leader of the Kosovo provincial party organization, from the LCY Central Committee. These circles declared themselves against the amendment of the Serbian Constitution and requested the resignation of some provincial leaders.

A political strike by the Albanian part of the population began. The workers of the "Trepca" mine in Stari Trg spent 8 days underground, refusing food and medical assistance. The chauvinist demonstrations engulfed the entire province. In order to avoid the further exacerbation of the crisis, Rahman Morina, the Kosovo party leader, as well as Husamdin Azemi, president of the Pristina City LCY Committee, and Ali Sukrija, the Kosovo representative at the LCY Central Committee, submitted their resignation.

This announcement was welcomed with overt dissatisfaction in the SR of Serbia. Protest demonstrations against the Kosovo nationalists and separatists were held in Belgrade. The demonstrators demanded that the names of those leaders who were trying to mislead the Albanians and fan chauvinist passions should be made public. The SFRY Presidency was forced to introduce special measures for guaranteeing law, order, and security in the autonomous province.

Uncertainty still reigns in Kosovo. Tanks are still stationed in front of public buildings. Despite all this, the "Trepca" mine has already been "revived" and Albanians, Serbs, and Montenegrins are already working side by side. The bakeries have started working and the electric power supply is sufficient. Numerous industrial enterprises resumed their normal operations.

The instigators have gone underground in the meantime.

Vienna Closing Document To Be Published

AU0103143689 Sofia BTA in English 1212 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 1 (BTA)—In its No. 9 Issue, the PO SVETA weekly news magazine, published by the Bulgarian News Agency (BTA), will carry the full text of the

concluding document of the Vienna follow-up Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe along with all its annexes. Due to the heightened interest expected in the publication, the issue will appear in an increased circulation.

Right of Residence Restrictions Questioned

AU2802172089 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 9, 27 Feb 89 p 4

[Krum Blagoev article: "A Misunderstanding Called 'Right of Residence'"]

[Excerpts] In autumn 1988 I was assigned the task of accompanying a foreign journalist touring our country. Being a trained zootechnician, he was mainly interested in agriculture. In order to be useful to him I had to learn several specialized, scientific terms. This was easier than I expected. To my surprise, however, one concept that actually had nothing to do with science, but with our everyday life, was impossible to translate. Despite all my efforts, I was unable to explain the term "right of residence" to the foreign journalist, and he was unable to understand it.

This word assumed its present-day meaning less than 40 years ago, but the older people among us are accustomed to the concept, while the younger ones have grown up with it. For this reason, we not only fail to consider it irregular, but even view it as an inevitable and natural phenomenon. This fact is based on the argument that the right of residence is an instrument which regulates migration which is useful both for the cities and the rural areas.

Statistical data is unequivocal: Since restrictions on residing in the five largest cities of our country were introduced, their population has doubled. According to the data provided by the 1956 census, the total number of inhabitants in these five cities amounted to 1,105,084, while only Sofia is considerably larger today. This increase is primarily the result of a mechanical growth, which despite all preventive measures, remains constant. An analysis of the data provided by the census in 1985 shows that the trend toward the concentration of population in large cities at the expense of small inhabited settlements continued even throughout the 1975-1985 period, despite the fact that even more severe restrictions to the right of residence were introduced by the end of 1974. Towns with more than 50,000 inhabitants are growing most rapidly, while the population in the villages is decreasing. In 1985 there were 337 settlements that have been nearly depopulated, while 1,730 villages and hamlets have less than 200 inhabitants. [passage omitted].

Restrictions in the sphere of right of residence are becoming increasingly severe. [passage omitted]

Our legislation is fond of prohibitions (or at least it used to be fond of them in the past). However, this love should not be blind and prevent us from realizing the simple truth: that a prohibition which has played its role should die by itself.

Let us try to systematically analyze the paradoxes of the right of residence. Its positive aspects are easy to enumerate, because they are few. Through the regulations on the right of residence, manpower can be temporarily restricted to certain economic branches. The very restriction, however, artificially produces an influx of candidates for residence in the cities, because the right of residence is a fetish in our country. It is granted only in exchange for a part of people's lives—either 5 years of marriage or 10 years of employment. Naturally, no one would risk losing a right acquired at this cost. A Sofia resident could find a job in the provinces that might be perfect for him from the professional and financial points of view, but if he were to go there, he would never be able to return. On the other hand, if he were to keep his Sofia residence and work with a temporary residence permit in the provinces, it would be difficult for him to find an apartment.... This is how administrative barriers prevent the economic levers from functioning and stop the natural outflow of the population from the large cities.

City transport and construction are based on the right of residence, but at which price? In order to obtain the coveted right of residence, valuable specialists with university degrees sometimes take jobs for which they need no qualifications, as a result of which society loses them for several years, and sometimes even forever, because knowledge become easily outdated in our epoch.

What should we say about the unknown, and therefore innumerable, human tragedies caused by residence restrictions? What should we say about mothers who are not entitled to have their children where they wish, about the dilemma to choose between one's beloved profession and their place of residence; about the frequently encountered paradox that you cannot live in the house you have inherited because you are not a resident of that particular town, while you have no place to live in your place of residence?

Last, but not least, we should mention the most important thing in this respect. The right of residence interferes with basic human rights. It is in direct contradiction with the right to work, to own property, and with the right to housing, which are guaranteed by the Constitution; it is in contradiction with international treaties signed by our country. According to them, "anyone who is legally entitled to live on the territory of a given country is entitled to move freely within the limits of this territory and to freely choose his place of residence."

This is approximately the idea on which the Law on Individuals and Families adopted on 23 July 1949 was based. This law, however, was amended later on, and became the basic principle of the present system of

residence, which actually divides Bulgarian citizens into three categories: the privileged ones (Sofia citizens), who are entitled to live and work all over the country, although with temporary permits; the semi-privileged ones (residents of the former okrug capitals), who are entitled to live everywhere within the limits of those okrugs; and the underprivileged ones, who are the rest of our citizens.

I think that the experiment has proved unsuccessful. Shall we discontinue it, or is there an alternative?

Public Interest in Crime Reports Increasing

AU2702092589 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian
No 8, 22 Feb 89 pp 4,5

[Yasen Georgiev article: "People Are Less Indifferent"]

[Text] Our new rubric "Crime Reports" has evoked particular interest among our readers in recent weeks. This is confirmed by the readers' letters and numerous telephone calls which have reached our editorial board. In addition to the congratulations, recommendations, and tips, the citizens have also offered some criticism. Later on, we will analyze the letters received on this subject and will dwell on the most representative remarks. Thus, for example, Yovka Atanasova (20, Shteryu Vodenicharov Street—Burgas) expresses her concern at the educational aspect of the question likely to affect our youth, and proposes drastic measures to combat the negative phenomena among adolescents. Zlato Georgiev (24, Dospat Street—Sofia) asks in this connection: "...All criminals are supposed to have been apprehended, but why do you provide only their initials? Why not publish their names, addresses, and the names of the schools they are attending (if they go to school at all).... Is this that famous glasnost you are talking so much about?" Dimka Ivanova from Plovdiv reprimands us, in turn, for writing mainly about "petty thefts and silly pranks of drunken young people, but avoiding to touch upon the subject of serious and severe crimes." Sofia citizen Z.T. (who signed only with his initials) asserts that "individual criminal acts are reported, but it is not clear what the real crime rate, for example in Sofia, represents...."

We take advantage of this opportunity to express our gratitude to our readers for their compliments and advice. As to the recommendation of publishing the names and addresses of the criminals apprehended, we would like to provide the following explanation: According to the current laws of our country, the name and address of a presumed criminal should not be publicized as long as the investigation and the legal procedures have not been completed. He is considered innocent as long as he has not been proven guilty according to the legal order.

As to the other questions, we paid a visit to the Sofia City Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Without any obstacles, we obtained exhaustive statistical data on crime in our capital. Publishing only part of the detailed information we obtained (because of lack of space), we hope to explain our preference for certain subjects, as well as to satisfy the natural interest of the citizens related to their security.

An increasing trend has manifested itself in Sofia since 1985 in regard to certain types of crime. This particularly applies to theft, which has increased by 23 percent. Theft represents 70 percent of all registered criminal offenses. The number of criminal cases involving house break-ins has increased. This break-ins represent 68 percent of all cases of property theft. The greatest number of house break-ins occurred in the Vitosha, Poduene, Oborishte, and Vuzrazhdane districts. Theft from homes and theft of motor vehicles represent serious problems. In 1988 nearly five housing units were robbed daily, which, compared with 1987, represents a 67 percent increase. Motor vehicle theft increased by 47.3 percent in 1988 compared with 1987, while the theft of automobile spare parts and of property left in motor vehicles increased by 49.8 percent in 1988 compared with 1987.

The crime rate in cases of offenses against persons is constant, while certain types of crimes have decreased (such as rape—by 16 percent, and indecency—40 percent). Such criminal cases are being promptly and fully solved—the percentage of murder cases solved is 82 percent, while 96 percent of the rape cases were solved.

Regarding the solving of crimes, we can say that 27.7 percent more cases of theft from homes were solved in 1988 as compared with those solved in 1987, while 27 percent more cases of motor vehicle theft were solved in 1988 as compared with 1987. Over 60 percent of the crimes solved were committed by young people between the ages of 18 and 30. Every fifth offense among those solved was committed by persons living in other areas of the country.

Let us examine the situation in January 1989. Compared with January 1988, there were 226 fewer criminal acts; there were 522 in January 1989. House break-ins decreased by 94 (there were 379 in 1988). Offenses against MPS [abbreviation unknown] have also decreased—by 11 percent. Two times fewer burglaries and common theft were committed during the period under review. The percentage of solved criminal cases was 3.7 percent more in January 1989 compared with January 1988.

Such figures clearly show that the situation in our capital is under control. Naturally, this is because, above all, of the preventive and protection measures of the militia organs. Criminologists think that.... glasnost and the increased involvement of the public resulting from glasnost have played a significant role in the prevention and solving of criminal acts! Let us cite a last statistic in support of their theory—nearly 3 times more criminal cases were solved on the basis of tips from citizens in 1988 compared with 1987!

Journal Excerpted on Private Taxi Services

AU2802131689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Feb 89 p 2

["Extract" from DURZHAVEN VESTNIK]

[Text] Issue No 16 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK reads:

The Ministry of Transportation has published an instruction on amendments and addenda to Instruction No 6 on transportation services supplied by private citizens.

The whole of Section II is amended for the purpose of coordinating it with Decree No 38 issued by the Council of Ministers, according to which the code of rgulations on collective and private labor activities of citizens in supplying additional goods and services was amended. The basic change consists of the fact that, as a result of the amendments, the right to exercise a profession, organize a production activity, engage in retail trade, or to provide certain services, such as taxi services, will no longer be based on permits, but on registration.

In accordance with this, the amended text of Article 4 in the aforementioned instruction stipulates that the transportation of passengers and freight by motor vehicles which are the private property of citizens may be carried out by citizens who are owners of automobiles, freight trucks, or trailers attached to automobiles, on the basis of registration.

Registration for the performance of private taxi services takes place after the following documents have been submitted: The application; a driver's license for the respective motor vehicle, which certifies that the driver has at least 3 years driving experience, and the control stub attached to the license; a certificate showing the repeated medical examinations of the driver; a certificate of registration for the motor vehicles and trailers in question, accompanied by an attestation of annual technical inspections; a certificate showing there have been no previous convictions; a document testifying that the driver has paid motor vehicle tax and that he has discharged all taxes, fees, and other financial obligations toward the state; a document certifying that the driver has paid all insurance fees for the respective motor vehicles, and additional insurance for "civil responsibility" in respect of injury to third parties or property located in or on the motor vehicle in question; and a declaration signed by the driver, when he is a worker or employee, testifying that he is under regular labor contract, and that he will perform the taxi services only during his hours of recreation. A special certificate will be issued to the citizen in question after registration.

U.S. Radar in Norway Said To Violate ABM Treaty

AU0803104489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Mar 89 p 6

[Article by Lieutenant General Viktor Pavlov: "What Do You Know About Vardo?; The Opinion of an Expert"]

[Text] Moscow (NOVOSTI Press Service)—At the most distant northeastern point in Norway, in the village of Vardo, almost on the border with the USSR, an American radar system, which few people know about, has appeared. They built it in 1986-87.

The radar station has an antenna and is covered by a large semi-spherical dome which emits radio waves. According to the type of radiation, this radar system can be classified among modern radar stations with phased antenna grids [fazovana antenova mriezka]. It is precisely oriented toward Soviet territory. The most important characteristics (the frequency, length, and number of impulse repetitions, and other features) are very close to the characteristics of the American anti-missile defense radar station of the STH type which originated within the framework of the "Side Defense" program and which was tested for the interception of Minuteman intercontinental missiles. The new American radar station in Norway can only be classified with difficulty among the devices of national technical control. First and foremost, it can belong to antimissile defense radar systems or, which is less probable, to radar systems for the instantaneous verification of the launching of ballistic missiles. If this supposition is confirmed, we are once more witnesses (after the radar station in Greenland and the construction of a radar station in England) to another violation of the ABM treaty by the United States. The treaty prohibits the siting of antimissile defense radar stations everywhere except in permitted deployment areas of limited antimissile defenses (the Grand Fox or Washington bases) or in antimissile defense firing ranges. If the new radar system belongs to radar stations which give advanced warning of a missile attack it can only be sited within U.S. national borders with an external orientation.

This radar station fits precisely into the monolithic block of the offensive space weapons system, of which it is the first line. It is directed at the destruction of ballistic missiles from a retaliatory strike by the other side (in the active section of their trajectory).

For the discussion of questions which arise in the sphere of observing the ABM treaty and other treaties on the limitation of strategic arms there exists in USSR-American relations a special permanent consultative committee (set up in 1972). Its regular meeting ended recently in Geneva. The short communique on its proceedings does not enable us to evaluate the results for the resolution of these questions. However, as far as we know, the Soviet side raised the question of the radar system in Vardo. At the same time, it was on the agenda for the second time. The American participants of the meeting preferred to keep silent. It is necessary to state here that ignoring the demands for an explanation from the other side is in itself a violation of the agreed procedure on the work of the committee.

When we want to discuss the substance of a developing problem the behavior of the American side gives its partner in the agreement, that is, the USSR, reason to assume the worst.

Baker's Speech at Vienna Talks Criticized

AU0803153189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Mar 89 pp 1,7

[Report by Jozef Janto and Marek Dobrovolny, Bratislava PRAVDA correspondents in Vienna: "Three-Stage Plan for Reduction of Conventional Forces"]

[Excerpts] Vienna (our correspondents)—Attended by Franz Vranitzky, chancellor of the Republic of Austria, and ministers of foreign affairs of the 35 signatory states of the Helsinki Final Act, two disarmament forums began in Vienna's Hofburg Palace on Monday [6 March]: the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament (also known as the Talks of the 35), and the talks on conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals, attended by 23 NATO and Warsaw Pact countries. [passage omitted]

The speech by Geoffrey Howe, British secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs, can be described as fairly realistic. He immediately reacted to Eduard Shevardnadze's speech. He rejected the prospect of the denuclearization of Europe. However, he submitted NATO's first official proposal for the upcoming talks. According to him, the limit for both sides should be set at 40,000 tanks, 33,000 artillery systems, and 56,000 armored personnel carriers. At the same time, one state could have, at most, 12 percent of the total number. This NATO proposal actually counts on the disarmament of the Warsaw Pact countries, while the NATO countries would maintain intact arsenals of their numerically strongest arms of the services such as the Air Force and the Navy. However, the most important thing is that despite the considerable differences in the two sides' views on the subject, the participants agree that successful talks are the only realistic path into the future.

The speech by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker did not fulfill the expectations of journalists and, obviously, not those of the other participants in the Vienna talks either. Not only did he not submit a proposal, but in his speech he took the position of lecturing and in some cases almost arrogance. For example, he spoke about the necessity to scrap chemical weapons, and in this the United States is one of the greatest obstacles; or when he stressed that the Soviet Union has, allegedly, divided Europe against the will of its inhabitants; or his remark about a "scientist in Prague who has difficulties getting hold of books he needs." Although he expressed appreciation for the new thinking, he clearly revealed that he

thinks in the old manner. He called for words being transformed into deeds, but this sounded strange in connection with his assessment of the disarmament steps undertaken by the Warsaw Pact member states in the conventional sphere. At the same time, the NATO member states not only did not undertake any similar steps but, on the contrary, they are striving to modernize tactical nuclear weapons. At variance with facts, he stressed that the Warsaw Pact should reduce its numbers of conventional weapons to the level that NATO has, which would mean, according to him, that in terms of weapons in which NATO has superiority, the Warsaw Pact would have to actually increase the number of its weapons. A considerable part of his speech was devoted to phrases about freedom and human rights. However, Baker, at least with a few words, identified himself with the idea that the Vienna talks must be successful. [passage omitted]

Jakes on Czech Initiative in Peace Process

LD0603213689 Prague CTK in English 1602 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 6 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak initiative to form a zone of confidence and cooperation along the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries is now at the stage of a dialogue with NATO countries and some neutral states, the purpose of which is to clarify the views of the individual countries, not only to obtain their comments but also other suggestions, Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes has said.

In an interview carried by the latest issue of the DEMOCRATIC JOURNALIST, the organ of the Prague-based international organization of journalists, Milos Jakes stressed that the Czechoslovak initiative "is quite open and we assume that it should be enhanced by the views and experience of partners."

Milos Jakes went on to point out that the initiative is part of an all-European process, it seeks to become one of the instruments for its activation, for developing it even beyond the frame of documents that have already been approved. "At the same time, we are generalizing the positive steps already taken—or that are being prepared—in our relations, for instance, with the FRG and Austria, and which we would like to expand still more. We also draw on experience in other parts of our continent, for example, on results already achieved in regional cooperation in the Balkan Peninsula," he said.

"We are realists and therefore, our aim is not to steal a march on what concerns fundamental measures of a military character—the talks that are to take place based on the mandate from the Vienna follow-up meeting. [sentence as received] However, we distinguish between what can be undertaken now to strengthen confidence in the military sphere on a bilateral basis, and what is within the competence of both military-political groupings. Our proposal for a zone "diluted" of the most dangerous types of aggressive weapons, such as tanks, artillery and mine-thrower systems should, naturally, be reached in harmony with the principle of mutual removal of the imbalances and asymmetry in individual types of conventional weapons," Milos Jakes said.

CPSU Central Committee's Ligachev on Visit

Arrives in Prague

LD0803172489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in Czechoslovakia today at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee for a working visit.

He was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport in Prague by Josef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the party's Central Committee, and other representatives.

During his 4 day visit, Yegor Ligachev will above all acquaint himself with Czechoslovak agriculture and the food complex and results which have been achieved during the building of socialist agricultural mass production and the development of the food industry. He will also visit some agricultural and food enterprises.

Meets Prague Mayor

LD0803213189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today met with Prague Mayor Zdenek Horcik at the Old Town Hall.

In a comradely conversation—also attended by Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and other representatives—the Soviet guest was informed about the fulfillment of party and state documents in the area of socioeconomic development in Prague. They also spoke about some aspects of restructuring the economic mechanism of the capital and about strengthening democratization in society. Direct Soviet-Czechoslovak production cooperation and the constantly widening exchange of experiences in the realization of revolutionary and social processes between the capitals of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, which contributes to the fulfillment of program intentions, in particular in political and economic activity, was emphasized.

Yegor Ligachev was also interested in resolving ecological questions—including health problems—building apartments, and the city transport system. The Soviet guest received the medal of the mayor of Prague, signed

the visitors book, and saw the historic areas of the Old Town Hall. Then Yegor Ligachev and his entourage walked through the pedestrian zone and was shown some of Prague's historical sites.

Stepan Leads Prague Group on Poland Visit

LD0803121389 Prague CTK in English
0900 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 8 (CTK)—A delegation of the Prague City Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, led by Party Presidium member and Chief Secretary of the Committee Miroslav Stepan, left here today for an official working visit to Poland.

During the two-day visit, the delegation will discuss with representatives of the Warsaw Committee of the Polish United Workers Party further extension of cooperation and will exchange experiences from carrying out processes of restructuring and democratization in the two fraternal cities.

Reader 'Tests' RUDE PRAVO Glasnost

AU0603122889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
27 Feb 89 p 3

[A letter headlined "Test of Glasnost?" in the "Letters to the Editor" column from a reader in western Bohemia, with response by RUDE PRAVO editor Michal Podzimek]

[Text] Esteemed editorial office, permit me, as a citizen of this state, to express my opinion in your daily, a matter which within the framework of the process of democratization and "glasnost" should not be a problem. Every citizen has the right to express his views in all information media. Therefore, I will regard this letter as an experiment, the purpose of which is to find out whether this right can really be made use of.

One stresses the need for, and the necessity of, an open dialogue. Of course, the question is, with whom does one want to conduct the dialogue? If all working people in our country are unanimous in their political views, then no dialogue would be necessary. If they are not, then a dialogue is necessary. Thus, this means that by stressing the need for such dialogue one shows that differing views do exist. However, at present the case is that official quarters are offering an open dialogue to everyone without exception but, at the same time, depict citizens who hold differing views as ideological enemies, whose objective is to subvert our republic. A person who expresses a thought—his vision of truth, independent in all respects—is depicted as an anarchist or, to put it more mildly, as a politically immature individual. Every citizen should have the right to his own independent political opinion, and this also in socialist society. Socialist society, in particular, should be a model in the sphere of human rights.

The restructuring of society is under way, a matter which should be a contribution to the working people. If honest work by all people (and thus also by ranking political and economic personnel) is what is meant by restructuring, than it will certainly be a contribution. [Signed] Petr Pokorny

Chodov near Karlovy Vary

Note: The editorial office receives dozens of letters each day. Their number has considerable increased in recent months. This shows that people are much more interested in political events, in good and negative phenomena in our society. This, by the way, is why we have expanded the "Letters to the Editor" column this year, we are more often publishing views on topical events in the "A Word on the Day" column, and why a stimulating and specifically-oriented discussion is frequently being conducted in the "Discussion Platform" column, which—as a rule—is published on Wednesdays on page three. Letters and contributions by working people and citizens also are an important instrument of public control of how the policy of the party and the state is being implemented. To put it concisely, we want RUDE PRAVO to be an increasingly broader democratic platform for the exchange of views and experience.

However, it is necessary to add that we do not publish all views. Asserting the contrary would be untruthful, dishonest. We give, and will continue to give, space in the newspaper, above all, to those coming forward with constructive and fresh ideas, to those seeking new ways to resolve accumulated problems and tasks connected with restructuring and democratization and the development of our socialist [previous word published widespaced] society.

I have intentionally had the term socialist printed widespaced. Yes, we are in favor of different views in socialist society. Also, no one regards our readers who express different opinions on published problems as "ideological enemies." On the contrary, by expressing different opinions they are expressing an active attitude toward the changes that our society has begun initiating.

Ideological enemies, of course, do exist. They are people who are interested in the destruction of socialism, who view our current difficulties from the positions of the reaction which was defeated in 1948. And these people are also those who—in 1968—held active antisocialist positions, which they have not abandoned to this day. After all, these people have never been interested in a really constructive discussion.

The program of our society is socialism. And this also is the most important criterion which decides RUDE PRAVO editorial office's attitude toward a particular letter.

[Signed] Michal Podzimek

Interview With Writers Association Chairman

AU0603165689 Prague HALO SOBOTA in Czech No 9 4 Mar 89 p 8

[Interview with Miroslav Valek, chairman of the Czechoslovak Writers Association, by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Jan Lipavsky and Bratislava PRAVDA staff journalist Juraj Halas: "What Do You Have To Say About It, Comrade Valek?"; place, date not given; opening paragraph is HALO SOBOTA introduction]

[Excerpts] At its meeting on Tuesday [28 February], the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Writers Association elected National Artist Miroslav Valek as its chairman. We asked him for an interview.

[Question] A couple of months ago it appeared as though you wanted to depart from public life once and for all.

[Valek] Appearances are deceptive. I cannot depart from public life because I am a writer and a writer's activity is, after all, a public activity.

[Question] Nonetheless, some readers wrote us that you were supposedly forced to resign as minister of culture of the Slovak SR because last November you had published an article in RUDE PRAVO, in which you reacted to various problems of the present. You have supposedly even received party punishment.

[Valek] You see what a power of imagination some people have! Nothing of that sort happened, I simply left the post of minister of culture which I had held for 20 years. I fully approve of the resolution of the ninth session of the CPCZ Central Committee that people who have been holding certain posts for too long should leave them and clear the way for others. That is also my case. As for the "party punishment," that, too, is not true. Indeed, some people liked that article, while others disliked it. Such is life and that is quite normal. By the way, I do not write in order to be liked by someone. I am searching for truth.

[Question] What does this "search for truth" involve?

[Valek] It usually involves the utterance of ideas that are not yet ripe for general acceptance. However, as things go, people do eventually accept them after all. I would say, generally, that in our country there is a traditional aversion to what I call intellectual advance ignition [intelektualni predzapal].

[Question] We do not understand.

[Valek] In short, one sometimes meets with a lack of understanding when speaking the truth before it has been accepted by others.

[Question] Let us return to the rumor that concerned you personally. Where did it come from? Where do other rumors come from, such as, for example, that state and party officials live in mansions or that they even have fat accounts abroad? If you have such an account, why is it that you live in a 3-room apartment in a high-rise building?

[Valek] These rumors come into being either as intentional mystifications or because people still lack objective information on the true state of affairs in our country. Had such matters been discussed and written about routinely, I probably would not even have to reply to your question.

[Question] You said—had such matters been discussed and written about normally. Let us therefore, give a knockout punch to yet another rumor, according to which government officials, such as ministers, have exorbitant incomes.

[Valek] Exorbitant? It all depends on what is perceived as exorbitant. As far as I know, we have average monthly wages of around Kcs3,200 in the republic. When I was minister, my income was four times the average wage. The directors of subordinate organizations in the sector sometimes have higher income than that. [passage omitted]

[Question] Let us perhaps return to your article in RUDE PRAVO of last November. You expressed in it the following idea: To be able to change the reality, we must know it and to be able to get to know it, we must accept the risk of confrontation between reality and our idea of it. I realize that this was written in connection with restructuring, but we believe that this idea is relevant also for the Czechoslovak Writers Association.

[Valek] Pretending that such risks do not exist or evading them is tantamount to contributing to their further growth.

[Question] How then do you want to cope with them?

[Valek] By means of a dialogue, by bringing closer together various and often disparate and contradictory standpoints and views, not only between the association's leadership and its membership base, but also within the membership base and between individual groups and individuals.

[Question] This still does not necessarily ward off the danger of conflict.

[Valek] That is right. Incidentally, one German writer said that to live is to risk one's life. And as for confrontation, not every confrontation is dangerous to society and worthy of condemnation. Confrontation that is based on the platform of reality is indispensable if we are not to succumb to self-deception. We will not manage to steer clear of conflicts. The clash of antitheses is, after all, the prerequisite of development.

[Question] But do you recognize the fact that the membership base of the association is not politically monolithic?

[Valek] Certainly. Our society as a whole is not monolithic either, politically as well as ideologically. In other words, there is place in this country not only for Marxists, for communists, but at the same time also for people of different ideological orientation, provided, of course, that they respect the constitutional order. We must therefore, create the requisite conditions for this coexistence of citizens of diverse bearings, as it were, conditions for their self-realization as citizens of the socialist state.

[Question] Yet, evidently, certain conflicts exist also in the writers association.

[Valek] They exist, and not only latently but quite visibly. I think that our writers have some quite legitimate demands concerning the pursuit of their profession, but also some legitimate objections to demands that are placed on literature. There are also questions concerning cooperation between publishing houses and printing plants, which is a longstanding and chronic problem, to say nothing about the dissemination of literature. A writer is, after all, dependent on the market and the market in our country is the way it is, that is, not exactly large.

[Question] We are talking about members of the association. But what about those who are not members?

[Valek] This question must, I think, be considered case by case. In Slovakia there are few such cases. I would say that if we leave aside young authors who are only beginning, this question does not, in essence, even arise. As far as Czech literature is concerned, it has been in a somewhat different situation. There are a number of personalities who stand outside the writers association and I think that for a formidable part of them there exist no serious reasons why they could not become members of the association.

[Question] What do you label as a realistic policy?

[Valek] Everything that reflects the reality and not some pious wishes.

[Question] However, some people view reality in different ways, depending mainly on the degree to which they gained access to it or could gain access to it for various reasons, or—and that, too, is confirmed by history—reality can be a thorn in the side of those whom truth accuses of obliterating reality in the name of their personal or group interests.

[Valek] Possibly. It is therefore, better to tell the people unpleasant truth, but to tell it always. The trust commanded by those who do not fill this political creed with facts will otherwise be imperilled.

[Question] Do you realize that, with such views, you will not be loved by some people, including people in your association?

[Valek] I am not taking up my post there in order to build up my popularity. I am in favor of realism, openness, and a democratic exchange of views on all possible questions of life and work. I want a Czechoslovak Writers Association that will live a full life and will not act as some sort of pageantry.

[Question] How do you understand the meaning of the term risk in the political and ideological sense of the word?

[Valek] Everything is exposed to continuous challenge because, death apart, nothing stays in the same condition.

[Question] How does what you are just saying tally, or not tally, with the once so frequently cited thesis about the moral and political unity of the people?

[Valek] The moral and political unity of the people is something different from an ideologically monolithic society. As a matter of fact, no monolithic unity of this type exists. However—and that, too, is a fact—by consistently implementing social targets we can bring about the moral and political unity of the people. In other words, if we want to perform our work well, we must establish a suitable climate and objective prerequisites for every citizen to be able to live in harmony with his conscience. However, this conscience should not be at odds with social interests.

[Question] It should not, but it sometimes is....

[Valek] Unfortunately. Such absence of conscience finds its expression also in political blackmail and even in flirtation with terrorism, as well as in the destructive and objectively incorrect negation of all those undeniable values that exist in our society.

[Question] What is your wish for your new function as chairman of the Czechoslovak Writers Association?

[Valek] To have trust and support among members of the association, but not once and for all because I know that, even if one has already won them, he must continuously renew them through deeds.

[Interviewers] Thank you for the interview.

Streletz Comments on NVA, Troop Reductions

AU0303174389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview with Colonel General Fritz Streletz, "deputy defense minister, chief of the Main Staff of the National People's Army, secretary of the National Defense Council, and member of the SED Central Committee," by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reporter Rainer Funke: "On the 33d Anniversary of the National People's Army: Armed Forces—Pledged to the People and to Peace"; date, place not given]

[Text] ND: Today, 33 years ago the National People's Army [NVA] was founded. What was the assignment of the GDR Armed Forces when they were founded?

Col Gen Streletz: On 18 January 1956, the GDR People's Chamber passed the "Law on the Establishment of the NVA and the Ministry of National Defense." This countered the dangers that had developed because of the FRG's integration in the NATO military pact and the establishment of the Bundeswehr. From that day onward, the protection of the GDR and its achievements has been carried out by a reliable army that is loyal to the workers class and its party and is firmly rooted in the Joint Armed Forces of the socialist defense alliance.

The NVA received the responsible task to protect the socialist system and the peaceful life of our citizens against any enemy and to ensure the sovereignty, territorial integrity, the inviolability of the borders, and the security of the GDR in firm comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet Army and other fraternal armies as well as in close cooperation with all protective and security organs.

Military Doctrine Against War

On 1 March 1956, the staffs of the military districts, of the air forces and air defense forces, as well as the naval forces, established their ability to act. Thus, an important partial goal in the establishment of the NVA was achieved. Since then, 1 March has been celebrated as the day of the NVA.

With the NVA, for the first time in the history of the German people, an army was established that represents the progressive military traditions of the German people, in particular of the revolutionary workers movement and its internationalist struggle against imperialism and fascism, for democracy and socialism. It knows "only one military doctrine," as Erich Honecker noted in his autobiography "From My Life," "to preserve peace, to do everything to prevent a war of aggression."

At the same time, this corresponded to the priority pledge which was made by our socialist worker-peasant state in the hour of its founding 40 years ago and which has always been loyally fulfilled since then: to do everything so that war will never again start from German soil. During the 33 years of its existence, the NVA of the GDR has always honorably fulfilled its assignment as an army of the people—to safeguard peace and socialism.

ND: Proceeding from the peace assignment of the Warsaw Pact, the fraternal socialist countries announced reductions of their armed forces and armaments. In this connection, readers have asked about the meaning of our advance unilateral moves.

Col Gen Streletz: The USSR, the GDR, and the other Warsaw Pact states made the decisions about the well-known unilateral reductions of troops, weapons, and defense budgets in full agreement with the principle of defense sufficiency, which is set down in the joint military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states. The unilateral reductions of their armed forces decided by the individual Warsaw Pact states are considerable.

Thus, the personnel strength of the Soviet Army alone will be reduced by 500,000 men. This is about 12 percent of its current overall strength, which corresponds to the number of active soldiers in the FRG Bundeswehr.

At the same time, the Soviet Union will reduce the amount of armament of its Armed Forces in the European part of the Soviet Union and on the territories of the GDR, Hungary, the CSSR, and Poland by 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 combat planes. Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, and the CSSR will reduce their armed forces by more than 80,000 men in total, which corresponds to the strength of the British forces stationed on FRG territory.

In addition, more than 2,700 tanks and more than 200 combat planes, as well as a considerable number of other military equipment will be withdrawn from the armed forces of these fraternal countries. The NVA of the GDR will reduce its personnel by 10,000 men by the end of 1990, which corresponds to about 6 percent of its current personnel strength.

These initiatives of the fraternal socialist countries are an important contribution to the disarmament process. We hope that they will provide to other European states a suggestion worth thinking about for their own steps to reduce their military potentials.

ND: When will the NVA start to put its unilateral steps into practice?

Col Gen Streletz: As of May the 600 tanks of the NVA that will be eliminated will be used for other purposes in the national economy or will be scrapped. In brown coal open-pit mines, for instance, the chassis of the tanks could be used as traction mechanism, and track shifters or crane vehicles could be re-equipped. As of the end of April 1989, we will gradually start to disband the six tank regiments, and we will conclude this by the end of this year. Further details will be published when the occasion arises.

ND: With the reduction measures the GDR National Defense Council has also set down that the NVA will receive an even stronger defensive characters. What does this mean?

Col Gen Streletz: The common defense doctrine of our alliance, which was decided by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states in May 1987, poses two principled tasks to the armed forces—two tasks which form a unity, namely to prevent any war and to protect and defend socialism. In this it proceeds from three organically linked principles—to maintain the military balance between the Warsaw Pact and NATO at the lowest possible level;

—to solve any international quarrels peacefully, without the use of military means; and
—to reduce the military potentials to an amount that is sufficient for defense.

Our Army's Structure Is Oriented Toward Defense

By implementing their common defense doctrine, the Armed Forces of the GDR and those of the other socialist states have entered a new stage of their development. In order to give the NVA an even stricter defensive character, the six tank regiments and one air squadron will be disbanded for instance.

The units of all military services, that is, of the ground forces, air forces and air defense forces, and the navy, will be oriented even more toward doing active defense work as regards their equipment with main kinds of arms and combat technology. Our motorized rifle units will, for instance, no longer have tank regiments.

Thus, in the future our armed forces will have

—fewer tanks, but more antitank equipment;
—fewer river-crossing equipment but more barrier facilities; and
—fewer combat planes but more anti-aircraft equipment.

In total, the strength and structure of our Armed Forces will gradually change in such a way that they are sufficient for defense actions but cannot be used for extensive attack operations. With the same goal we have also started to reduce the number and scope of our troop exercises.

In connection with all these measures we take into consideration that NATO continues to stick to its aggressive concepts without a change and we, therefore, continuously maintain a high degree of defense readiness.

ND: The peace initiatives of the USSR, the GDR, and the other fraternal socialist countries have met with widespread agreement all over the world. Is it not now time that the FRG also shows goodwill and lives up with concrete deeds to its special responsibility, in particular at the sensitive dividing line between two social systems?

Col Gen Streletz: I think that such steps would correspond to the needs of the time, because they would contribute to the reduction of military confrontation and thus would not impair the FRG's security but increase it.

Concern About the Armament Course of the Bundeswehr

Unfortunately, the present development is going in another direction. I am thinking, for instance, of the fact that the FRG is the first NATO state to fix the plans for its armed forces practically until the year 2000, that the highest military budget to date—DM53.5 billion—has been approved for this year, that compulsory military service has been extended, that it supports the NATO plans for the modernization of its nuclear potential, and that the development of a new missile system KOLA has been started.

I would also like to mention the continual low-altitude flights of the FRG Air Force, the main purpose of which is—even according to statements by representatives of the Bundeswehr leadership—to practice the overcoming of our air defense system in order to carry out attacks in our hinterland. The FRG Bundeswehr is also playing an important role in the annual NATO autumn exercise series, during which NATO forces are sometimes operating in the immediate vicinity of the national border of the GDR and the CSSR.

All this causes us with concern. In our view, it does not show that the FRG intends to fulfill its pledge to do everything so that war will never again start from German soil with all consistency, a pledge that was made by Chancellor Helmut Kohl during Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG in 1987.

The FRG Must Finally Follow With Deeds

It is high time that the ruling circles in the FRG turn with more goodwill toward the joint political initiatives worked out by the SED, CPCZ, and the SPD. This applies to our proposals

—for the establishment of a "chemical-weapon-free zone in Europe," which should encompass the territories of the GDR, the CSSR, and the FRG and in which any deployment, production, and use of chemical weapons would be prohibited;
—for the establishment of a "nuclear-free corridor in central Europe" of, at first, 150 km along the border line between the two alliance systems, which would considerably reduce the danger of a war of aggression; and
—for the establishment of a "zone of trust and security in central Europe," with which the military potentials capable of attack at the border line between the two military alliances could be shifted farther apart so as to reduce surprise attacks.

The implementation of these and other steps would be an important contribution to consolidating mutual trust and peace. We proceed from the premise that especially the two German states should be interested—more than any other state—in gradually reducing confrontation in the heart of Europe. The words of the FRG Government to create peace with ever fewer weapons must now finally be followed with deeds.

8 Mar National Assembly Session Continues

Nemeth on Gabcikovo Project

LD0803123189 Budapest MTI in English 1146 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 8, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—"The government has decided to continually study the budget of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam nd it will regularly inform parliament about spendings", said Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth in the long-drawn out debate on the agenda of the current session of parliament this morning.

The prime minister spoke in response to a motion by Academician Janos Szentagothai who suggested that the issue should be revised by parliament in the light of the fact that "the government would be unable to keep its promise about running the facility at peak output only if and when local environment protection facilities for sewage treatment are built". He also criticized the fact that MPs had not seen a detailed budget, revealing past and future expenditure nor were they equipped to judge future environmental impacts.

The prime minister said that the bill on referendum should be prepared for the May-June session of parliament which then could address itself whether to decide whether to call a referendum about the controversial dam.

Kulcsar Views Constitution

LD0803151189 Budapest MTI in English 1442 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 8 (MTI)—On Wednesday in Budapest, in accordance with the approved agenda of the parliament session, Minister of Justice Kalman Kulcsar submitted the conception on the regulation principles of the constitution. In his speech, Mr Kulcsar stated: It is our utmost national interest for constitutionalization, as a process that creates or at least promotes the development of consensus, to create a constitution which would prove to be a means capable of maintaining consensus. The framing of the basic law can not only precede 'historical consensus', but also contribute to it, if the population is prepared for responsible cooperation.

The constitution is built upon the ideal of a state of law. The constitutional state recognizes and guarantees human and civic rights, realizes the division of power, and creates the system that protects the constitutional theses. The regulation principles approach the state in a qualitatively new manner as compared to the earlier constitution and separate it from the political party. They decree with respect to the relations between the state and the citizen in a way that the new constitution be unanimously focused on the citizen.

Assembly's Agenda Detailed

LD0803203689 Budapest MTI in English 1531 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 8 (MTI)—On Wednesday in Budapest, at the session of the National Assembly, MPs approved the agenda of the session as follows:

1. Discussion of the regulation principles of the constitution of Hungary
2. Informative report of the Council of Ministers on the situation of Romanian refugees, and the planned further measures of the government
3. Election of the speaker of parliament
4. Bill on the amendment to Law II of 1967 on the labour code
5. Strike bill
6. Discussion of the bill to the amendment of Law I of 1978 on internal trade
7. Report on the state of preparations for the Budapest-Vienna World Expo planned for 1995
8. Probable programme of the National Assembly for 1989
9. Personnel changes in certain committees of parliament
10. Discussion of interpellations and questions
11. Discussion of independent motions.

Debate Ends Till 9 Mar

LD0803231789 Budapest MTI in English 2122 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 8 (MTI)—The first day of the current session of the Hungarian parliament has just ended.

The keynote address, given by Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar, was followed by a debate with 14 contributions.

The debate is to continue on Thursday: The legislative body will continue its sesion with the discussion of the regulation principles of the new constitution.

Following the keynote address given by Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar, the first person to take the floor was Istvan Gajdocsi, chairman of the constitution preparatory committee, who summarized the committee's standing in nine points.

He called particular attention to the necessity for making the new constitution a statutory provision, i.e., in place of ideological and political declarations, it should constitute a clear-cut legal norm, both in legislation and in its application. If perceived correctly, the new constitution should manifest the character of the social order and its content entirely, and not from some sort of definitions relating to social order and political power, Mr Kulcsar [as received] pointed out.

On the question of society's economic system, he gave details of the opinion of the committee, stating that forms of ownership should only be regulated in general terms. At the same time, these regulations should ensure the system of a functional market economy and free enterprise.

Although the draft took a stand for a unicameral system, Istvan Gajdocsi expresed the view that, for a transitory period, and until a stable political structure based upon a multi-party system has been created, a second chamber might be set up by the representative organizations, with the aim of counterbalancing the uncertain political structure. The function of the president of the Republic should be regulated as an independent institution of power, but the merely presidential system and the institution of the so-called strong president of the Republic should be avoided. The constitution should include the institutions of the constitutional court, the ombudsman and the chief state auditing office.

Then Mr Gajdocsi put forward the complementary comments and amendments of the committee. According to the committee, when deciding on the form of government, the choice should be made between a people's republic and a republic.

The constitution should declare that, on a principled and mutual basis, the Hungarian People's Republic assumes responsibility for the Hungarians living abroad.

The constitution should regulate the vote of confidence against the government and the motion of no confidence which would also affect the ministers personally. In conclusion, Mr Gajdocsi stressed the necessity for holding a comprehensive social debate on the draft.

Thirteen MPs expressed their opinion. Almost all of them touched upon the issues of division of power, the multi-party system, the constitutional court and the various constitutional guarantees, and some dealt with the national insignia as well.

The acting president closed the session at seven o'clock. The debate on the outline of constitution is to continue on Thursday.

New Constitution To Include Economic Changes

LD0303153689 Budapest MTI in English
1352 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 3, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—To establish close cooperation with the unified Western European integration scheduled for 1992, it is inevitable to bring Hungarian law into line with international standards, especially in the field of consumer protection, industrial law, standards law, the regulation of competition, and the association law, Tamas Sarkozy, deputy minister of justice, stressed at a press conference on Thursday [2 March].

The new constitution, to be completed by early 1990 at the latest, will, in all probability, contain legal provisions regarding ownership relations, and any new law will have to wait until the new constitution has been worked out, the deputy minister said. Preparations, however, are already under way, and the modification of several laws and decrees can be expected as early as this year.

From January 1, courts of registration, rather than the ministries and councils concerned, will have jurisdiction over companies and cooperatives.

Legal provisions on winding up companies are now also out of date, and that's why the new bankruptcy law is being prepared. Regulations regarding the law of contracts have to be updated, and a new competition law, to be put before parliament in mid-1990, is also being worked out.

The currency code is to be changed, too, in accordance with modifications in the customs law. A law is being drafted on the issue and trading of securities. It will also contain provisions on the control of stock exchanges. Nevertheless, the state does not intend to control the operation of stock exchanges, since this is controlled over all the world by those interested in such operations.

News Conference Discusses Government Session

LD0703100489 Budapest MTI in English
1843 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 6 (MTI)—The Hungarian Government has introduced a new work order: From now on it is to coordinate and finalize the position of the government in issues to be submitted to the National Assembly prior to the parliament sessions, and will evaluate the events following the National Assembly sessions at government meetings. This is necessary in view of the enlivening Hungarian home political life, and the diversity of parliamentary work—said government spokesman Gyorgy Marosan at an international press conference held following the government session on Monday. There are no party factions in Hungarian parliament, all groups of representatives are the potential opponents of government. Thus the members of government should prepare for all probable, as well as all unexpected events.

The government is to request the MPs at the parliament session on March 8-10 to commit themselves to the organization of the Budapest-Vienna World Expo, the spokesman said. According to the position of the government, this would be beneficial both to the country's economy and its international prestige. In answer to a question by the representative of MTI's export news desk, the spokesman said that, in his view, there is no similarity between the preparations of the decisions on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage and the world expo. From the moment the idea of the world expo came up, the Hungarian population received regular and thorough information about all developments related to the theme.

The government should inform the National Assembly also in the affair of the Romanian refugees. In this context the spokesman said that by the end of February, 14,000 refugees received settlement permits in Hungary. Priority is given to ensuring work opportunities to the refugees. The most important problem is their housing, therefore the government has now decided: The settlement fund of 326 million forints will be turned in 1989 to solving the housing problems of the refugees.

Mr Marosan stated: In spite of the 124,000 signatures collected, the government does not hold it justified to again place the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage issue on the agenda of parliament. According to the information of the spokesman, the text of the law on referenda has already been edited by officials of the Ministry of Justice, and this will shortly be put to social debate, and will be submitted to parliament in summer at the earliest. Thus no referendum can be decreed in Hungary until then.

'Extensive' TV Coverage of 15 Mar Announced

LD0603214789 Budapest MTI in English 1757 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, Mar 6 (MTI)—Hungarian television is to provide the most extensive coverage to commemorate the celebrations on March 15 (the anniversary of the outbreak of the 1848-1849 Hungarian freedom fight). It is to give live broadcasts about the central and provincial festive events, alongside various summaries, said Gyula Bereczky, president of Hungarian television, at a press conference on Monday. He also set forth the main findings of the examination by the Ministry of Finance on the management of Hungarian television. In the course of this, several organizational shortcomings were experienced which made the management of Hungarian television unmanageable and badly organized. Staff reductions and various organizational measures were decided on in the wake of the examination. Similar examinations will be held two years from now.

Police Official on Demonstrations, Assemblies

AU0903094889 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 25 Feb 89 p 5

[Interview with Police Lieutenant Colonel Sandor Pongor, head of a department of Budapest Police Headquarters, by Nora Rab: "Police Official on Order of Assembly—Allowed, Acknowledged, and Banned Demonstrations—The Right To Disperse Demonstrations—Water Cannons, Rubber Truncheons, and Arms—Defending the Demonstrators and Public Order"; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] At its latest session, parliament enacted a law on the right of assembly. According to this law, organizing parades and peaceful demonstrations and participating in them are a citizen's right. However, just like everywhere else in the world, this right is connected with the duty to register planned demonstrations with the police. In accordance with the law, the organizers should inform the police of their intention to hold a demonstration and its planned time and location 3 days prior to the planned event. In Budapest, the organizers should register with Budapest Police Headquarters.

[Rab] What new tasks does the new law represent for those in charge of public order?

[Pongor] It is good for us that we will now carry out our job of ensuring traffic safety according to the requirements of a given demonstration and within the framework of the law. Last year provided us with ample opportunity for acquiring enough experience because we were present at several parades, demonstrations, and meetings, both large and small. There were cases of permitted, accepted, and banned demonstrations last year.

[Rab] Is it not a contradiction that on the one hand, the new law declares the right of assembly to be a citizen's right, while on the other hand, it requires registration and also provides for the possibility of banning demonstrations. Does this thus not mean that demonstrations in Hungary are still subject to being approved?

[Pongor] The police have the right to know about these events. We can ban a demonstration by virtue of its place and timing. If a planned location is not suitable, because somebody else has already registered an event there, then we inform the organizers and ask them to take this into consideration. The organizers must understand this. According to our experiences, cooperation in this area is increasingly smooth. [passage omitted]

We ask the organizers to be true partners and to mutually observe the law. [passage omitted]

[Rab] The large-scale demonstration on 27 June 1988 held to protest the Romanian village-destruction plan was a good example of this mutual cooperation.

[Pongor] Yes. But there were several other examples of this last year. I could say that we had acquired adequate experience even prior to the new law. My personal opinion is that there can be no great disturbance if there is coordination between organizers and the police. [passage omitted]

[Rab] When do the police have the right to disperse a meeting or demonstration?

[Pongor] This is always determined by the given circumstances. This can happen if a conflict situation emerges which threatens the safety of the participants. The police will intervene if the organizers lose control of the situation and are unable to solve problems that might arise. However, in my view, it is not a good thing if the police have to intervene. [passage omitted]

[Rab] When can the police use firearms?

[Pongor] We do not even think about this possibility. This could only happen if someone from the crowd attacked either one of the participants or a policeman. However, I repeat, we do not even consider this a possibility, and I sincerely hope that we will not have to intervene in any other way in the future. [passage omitted]

Romania Sets Conditions for UN Group's Visit

LD0803220389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] According to diplomatic sources, Romania is ready to invite the UN Human Rights Commission delegation if it withdraws the draft resolution condemning Romania. The Romanian initiative has allegedly already been forwarded to the seven coauthors of the draft resolution, including Hungary. We inquired about this matter by telephoning the Foreign Ministry in Budapest, which denied [cafoltak] that the Romanian initiative had arrived.

Nyers on Role of MSZMP, Social Democrats

LD0503223989 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Studio interview with Reszo Nyers, minister of state and member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo, on "The Week" program, by unidentified program presenter, on 5 March—recorded]

[Text] [Presenter] At the end of our program we are again going to deal with developments in domestic politics. Our guest in the studio is Rezso Nyers, minister of state and member of the Politburo. Welcome. This week you have received a delegation of the European Parliament and you also made a remark worthy of attention: You said that the MSZMP also proclaims itself as being the successor of social democracy, and what is more, partly a social democratic party. How did you mean this?

[Nyers] We consider ourselves to be the successor of the communist movement and the social democratic movement.

I meant by this that we acknowledge the values of social democracy right up to the merger of the two parties, and we attribute an unambiguously positive role to social democracy in the history of Hungarian politics. Moreover, what I meant was that, as for the present as well, communist reform and social democracy grow closer to each other, and this is especially true in Hungary. They move close to each other concerning the fact that both movements unanimously acknowledge the human rights of citizens, and they base the constitutional and political system on this. They acknowledge the varied or multifaceted nature of political views and interests, and they originate the interests of society from this. In economic life, they direct economic activity not through the state but rather through independent people and independent and self-governing communities. We consider Hungary to be part of the world economy.

[Presenter] You mentioned the merger as point one, and the present period as point two. I think you will agree that in the 40 years stretching between the two, one would find very few communist politicians who have stood before the people and said: I represent the social democratic ideas as well.

[Nyers] That is really true. In the communist movement and also in the MSZMP, the opinions connected with the social democracy of the Third International—to my mind, they are mostly erroneous—have lived on and influenced matters for quite a while.

[Presenter] Well, if we take a look at the document published this week by the Hungarian Social Democratic Party on the recruitment of members—it is a draft communique—we can see that with the exception of one or two points, this can be easily listed. What is more, it is being listed among the efforts of the MSZMP, albeit with a slight blemish—that is, the Social Democrats, the new Social Democratic Party can say that, well, you communists had 40 years at your disposal to realize this, and you did not, or you have just partially done it; it may now be our turn.

[Nyers] Yes. Well, you are right in this. The MSZMP has governed on its own and it is solely responsible for the past 40 years. In my opinion, though, in this 40 years there were values also; it would be only correct for the Social Democratic Party to acknowledge this. We have to, and we do, take responsibility for the mistakes. Well, the Social Democratic Party did not have the opportunity to govern, and therefore it did not have the opportunity to make mistakes, either. If the Social Democratic Party had been an only party in the same monolithic situation and with the same responsibilities as the MSZMP, then I think that they also would have made significant mistakes, although I am not saying exactly the same mistakes or the same amount of them.

[Presenter] How ready now is the MSZMP, within the foreseeable future, to divide with the Social Democrats and others the responsibilities for decisions and perhaps mistakes?

[Nyers] In my opinion, the MSZMP is ready for this. In fact, more than ready, for it wishes this. We in the party, in the party leadership, and more and more also in a large part of the membership, acknowledge that we alone cannot effectively express the interests of society in everything. And, we were even weaker in realizing recognized social interests. This is because in a significant part of the political questions on the agenda today, the MSZMP had already recognized the need for change in the sixties, and even at the end of the seventies and at the start of the eighties. However, it was not capable of realizing it. For this reason, we really do want cooperation.

[Presenter] Two weeks ago, a Central Committee secretary [Gyorgy Fejti, interviewed on "The Week" on 19 February] sat in this chair and said that at the moment

there is nobody capable of governing apart from the MSZMP. Does this mean that we must wait until these parties, these political groupings, possess a comprehensive political program? Or, is it also a question of the MSZMP not being completely unified, of not being completely ready for this? For you also said in your interview with CORRIERE DELLA SERA that in the highest party leadership there is unity on this, and also on the questions of reform, but that in the circle, in the apparatus, and in a good many other places, there are rather significant, as you said, fundamentalist—that is, antireform forces—operating.

[Nyers] Well, I would pick up from your quotation the words at the moment. Moments spin past quickly nowadays, as Villon says: Years fly at last like minutes. So this really is valid just for the moment, and it will not be for the next moment. So, currents and forces capable of governing can appear, and they will also appear on the Hungarian political stage.

As to what changes will still occur within the MSZMP on the basis of the reform policy, that is the tune of the future. As I see it, significant forces in the MSZMP and the fundamental masses of the party are now turning in the direction of the reform policy. But, I admit that this is not general, and that there does exist, not in a definable proportion but rather a probably significant strata, which views the reform policy with antipathy, which believes that this means discarding everything for which they earlier fought—by the way, this is an erroneous idea—and they thus they have become embittered. These comrades of ours must show themselves clearly—if they remain in the party, then within the party; and if they do not wish to stay in the party, then outside the party.

[Presenter] So, as you said earlier in your statement, you do not consider it impossible that these fundamentalists could perhaps break away from the party. Does this automatically mean a party split?

[Nyers] In my opinion, this does not mean a party split. All this means is that at the time of every new turnabout, at the time of every renewal, and also including the present, some people have fallen away from the parties. I am referring to the Communist Party, the Socialist Democratic Party, the MSZMP. Certain strata have fallen away. We also are currently reckoning with this type of falling away, but we do not at all wish this falling away to be significant. As many communist- and socialist-spirited party members as possible should join the reform policy. This is our wish, and we hope that in the fundamental part of the party this will also be the case.

[Presenter] Thank you for this conversation.

Szuros on Neutrality; Soviet, Western Ties

LD0403194489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] At the disarmament forum being resumed in Vienna, the elimination of the disparities between the Warsaw Pact and NATO is considered to be the next objective. Of course, a more long-range task is for the two military blocs to cease to exist. Could Hungary be neutral at a point earlier than that? Rezso Nyers, MSZMP Politburo member and minister of state, said this week in Inota that this is not a reality; at the moment it is not possible to leave the Warsaw Pact. Journalists asked Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros the same thing this week. He said that he considered neutrality to be attainable, together with the realization of general disarmament. He supports his opinion with arguments in the following conversation. Jozsef Laszlo reports:

[Begin recording] [Laszlo] Recently, diplomats and politicians have said quite a bit about what the relationship of Hungary and Western Europe should be like; how it would be possible to cooperate with the Common Market; and whether or not we should enter the EFTA. And I feel that relatively little has been said about how Hungarian-Soviet relations should develop in the future.

[Szuros] On the one hand, in agreement with the historian Gyula Szekfu—this is geostrategically a basic issue for us, almost regardless of social system—we should always reckon with and keep in mind that there lies next door to us an enormous country, a world power, the Soviet Union, with which we must shape relations full of trust—a good-neighbourly relationship. This is a task now, and this will also be the case in the future. I am thinking here, for example, that little Finland has developed a quite constructive, substantive system of relations with the Soviet Union, one that benefits both sides. It is a model. In our case, more is at issue, because we belong to one alliance system, and we pursue identical social objectives. I nevertheless believe that there is now a period when—in this new manner of thinking—we should not forget this. This is a political interest, an economic and geostrategic viewpoint.

[Laszlo] Let us return to the Finnish example for a minute. In your view, could this, in any form, be a model in the future for Hungarian foreign policy or for Hungarian-Soviet relations?

[Szuros] I believe that we, in the final analysis, are ahead in building relations with the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, I think that how a small neutral country builds and fosters its relations with a world power could be a sort of approach and viewpoint for us. Namely, the issue here is that our friendship with the Soviet Union is being clarified [tisztuloban van]. Our cooperation is undergoing renewal, and it must be freed from certain ossifications and dogmas. However, this should not, for all this, delude us, and we should not lose touch with realities. That is what I would now like to draw attention to.

Therefore, we are now working to build a mutually advantageous system of relations, of equal rights with the Soviet Union, of course building on what existed previously but, in part, diverging from and freed from these things. Thus, we are of equal rights [egyenjoguak]. Naturally, we cannot really be of equal rank with the Soviet

Union, because what is in question is the relationship of a small country and a world power. The Soviet Union has far more possibilities than we do.

Thus, what we have to achieve, and we have to politicize accordingly, is for this enormous country next door to us to always have faith in us. How the Soviet Union currently relates to our reform policy, how it relates to the process that we call a changeover to representative democracy, to the social processes, to our foreign policy, and so forth, is not a matter of indifference to us. This, of course, does not mean that we have to conduct ourselves in a servile or subservient manner towards the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union does not currently require this. Indeed, what we experience now is that the enormous Soviet Union encourages the smaller socialist countries to undertake independent initiatives, at places with greater and lesser success. Therefore, I would like to make it clear that how these relations develop also depends on us.

[Laszlo] You just spoke about a small, neutral country.

[Szuros] Yes. Of course, a whole series of neutral countries would not endanger the security of the Soviet Union. I also take the approach of what is better for the Soviet Union, what is better on its border, along its border—let us say from Poland south, down to Bulgaria—whether there are allied socialist countries that have uncertain, weak economies and uncertain domestic political situations, or neutral socialist countries that have stable economies.

All this, of course, is the question of the future. There is no worse adviser in politics than haste and rashness. Thus, we today and in the future as well must take realities as our point of departure, but we also have to think of the future.

[Laszlo] And what is the situation with Hungary's CEMA relations, for some believe that mutual disadvantages, rather than mutual advantageous, currently stem from this system of relations, for all sides.

[Szuros] I fully agree with that assessment. Nevertheless, I believe that we have to act politically in the following manner: not to leave the CEMA mechanism, but rather to reform it. We must create a balance in Hungarian foreign policy. Thus, we must eliminate the one-sided orientation toward the East, not by downgrading and lowering cooperation with the socialist countries, with the CEMA, but rather by raising to a high level our relations and cooperation with, for example, the Common Market, Western Europe, the Western countries, and the developed industrial countries. Thus, we should raise them to the level that we have already attained in the East. This is my opinion, my approach, and I believe that it could be the attitude of all of Hungarian foreign policy. We would then avoid the certain vacuum that cannot be permitted in politics. [end recording]

Szuros Addresses European Parliamentarians

LD0203232789 Budapest MTI in English 2140 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 2 (MTI)—The European parliamentary delegation, led by Belgian politician Paul Staes, and in Hungary since February 27, met with Matyas Szuros, chairman of the foreign committee of the Hungarian National Assembly, and with other members of the committee in parliament on Thursday [2 March] morning.

Matyas Szuros briefed the delegation on topical issues of Hungarian foreign policy. He stressed that Hungary wanted a foreign policy that would function as a bridge between East and West, while, within its own system of alliances, it would lead its allies in the direction of reform. He mentioned the Soviet Union and China as the supporters of Hungary's reform endeavours.

Mr Szuros pointed to the two chief features of Hungarian foreign policy—that have replaced the former unilateral approach—as emphasis on national character and an opening. Among other things, for political and geostrategic reasons, we cannot neglect our relations with the Soviet Union.

In a reply to a question, he said that the partial withdrawal of Soviet troops is to begin in April. This will be a declaration of the fact that neither Hungary nor the Warsaw Treaty have any intentions to attack, and that we do not consider it likely that we ourselves will be attacked. Our final objective would be the elimination of military alliance systems, which would also make the question of neutrality meaningless.

In his reply to a further question, Mr Szuros said that Hungary would welcome help of any kind from the European Communities to relieve the burdens of the Romanian refugees.

Professor Otto Habsburg, member of the European parliamentary delegation, currently visiting Hungary, met with representatives of the Cultural Association of Hungarian Jews at the Lorand Otvos University of arts and sciences on Thursday.

Before an audience of over 1,500 people, he expressed his pleasure that he had retained the Hungarian language for 70 years. He has been assisted, he said, by travelling as he was always certain to meet with Hungarians. He felt he could be of some assistance to the Hungarian nation through his membership in the European Parliament. It was revealed that he did not simply possess dual citizenship—Austrian and West German—but triple as he had never renounced his Hungarian citizenship. Possession of Hungarian citizenship means entitlement to vote or stand for election.

In the course of the exchange, he underlined his belief in national sovereignty. Nations should have an exclusive say in their own affairs and it is unacceptable for a patriot that they be settled abroad. Professor Habsburg pointed out that freedom and freedom of expression had grown since his visit last year to Hungary. Talking about international issues, he said that albeit not popular in Europe in the mid-40s, Hungary had now gained a reputation. One unfortunate reason for this is the persecution of Hungarians in Romania, but another is the compassionate attitude the country has shown towards minorities.

The European parliamentary delegation held an international press conference on Thursday at the conclusion of its Hungarian visit.

Talking about their experience of Hungary, the visitors said they were pleased with the far-reaching and sincere dialogue they had held with Hungarian leaders. The participants stated that in both the East and the West, responsible political forces should work on the improvement of relations. The delegation also wishes to advocate the cause with its own means.

As far as Hungarian reform endeavours are concerned, the visitors believed, on the basis of the talks, that Hungary has firmly committed itself to an open democratic system. Hungary could be the forerunner of the CMEA countries, and mediate between the East and the West.

It was pointed out that regular meetings such as annual talks between the Hungarian legislation and the European parliamentary delegation would be welcomed. Speaking on their schedule, delegation members mentioned that their next visit would be Bulgaria in late April. They considered it unfortunate that Romania was not among the countries they were to visit, for the time being, because of the Romanian leaders refusal to any agreement to cooperation.

After the end of the official visit, some members of the delegation are to stay on for a couple of days in Hungary as private persons.

Karpati Views Army, Warsaw Pact Relations

LD0703074589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1815 GMT 6 Mar 89

["Conversation" between Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defense, and Laszlo Juszt, in Karpati's office: "The Soldier Must Be a Thinking Man"—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Juszt] There is no position in the Army that is more responsible than the one that you fill—I imagine that this is indicated somewhat by this room and by the number of telephones here. There are three separate telephones here. (?One) has a lot of buttons. One of the sets does not even have a dial; instead, it bears a coat-of-arms, that of the Hungarian People's Republic. Who can you telephone with it?

[Karpati] Here at home important national leaders have such telephones, but with this one, it is also possible to maintain contact with other countries' leaders.

[Juszt] So, if you lift up the phone...

[Karpati, interrupting] Then I get the operator and say with whom I want to speak, and the operator makes the connection.

[Juszt] So, if you want to reach Army General Yazov, your Soviet counterpart, that is all there is to it?

[Karpati] Then I call him on this set...

[Juszt, interrupting] And is the reverse also true? Do you usually receive commands from there on this set?

[Karpati] Not commands—We are an independent, sovereign country with its own government. The defense minister cannot receive a command from anywhere other than his own government.

[Juszt] And as a Warsaw Pact member state?

[Karpati] We are allies. This means that we sit at the table as identical partners. By identical I mean that we are equal, as far as our rights are concerned; of course, our importance cannot be identical. Otherwise, no matter how essential the issue is, we discuss it, we consult over it, and thus, we reach, or do not reach, a joint stand. [passage omitted]

[Juszt] Here is another telephone without many pushbuttons, an independent telephone set, one that is grey. It is not a Hungarian telephone—it is foreign. What is it for?

[Karpati] It is a set which has been systematized for Warsaw Pact military leaders. It is an expressly military set.

[Juszt] When did it last ring?

[Karpati] This morning.

[Juszt] Is who telephoned you a secret?

[Karpati] Not at all. It is known that the armed command and staff of the joint armed forces have their headquarters in Moscow. There are numerous Hungarian generals and officers in high positions there. One of the generals reported to me on certain matters.

[Juszt] And this third telephone?

[Karpati] Certain Hungarian political and state leaders have such a telephone with which it is possible to contact each other directly. [passage omitted]

[Juszt] In a situation when the country is in ferment, when the mood is not rosy, when the responsibility of the man who has the weapons in his hand increases, that of the No 1 leader of the Army, of the person who, if you please, can give the command to fire or who can stop anything, in such a situation, what directs a person? What directs the minister's way of thinking, not his instructions?

[Karpati] Allow me, first, to clarify things a bit. The defense minister in Hungary is not a dictator. He does not perversely issue commands, especially not for using weapons or other things. I am a member of the government. Thus, I must implement the decisions of the legal order in this country—the government, the legislature, the President Council. I have to see that these are implemented. I can make proposals and initiatives, but I cannot make decisions arbitrarily; I could not even imagine such a thing or personally undertake such a thing. [passage omitted]

[Juszt] You have said that you are a member of the government, but in the final analysis you carry out instructions. In a given situation, whose instructions are these?

[Karpati] There is a leading political force: the MSZMP. Thus, the main determiner of the political trend prevailing in the country is this political leadership. And this policy must at present be enforced in the government as well. The government passes resolutions, issues decrees, and makes decisions. This also pertains to the minister of defense. We are racking our brains quite a bit now and debating how this will be in the future. There always has to be a legal order, and the defense minister is a member of the government which must work according to the law, on the basis of laws created by the highest legislative body, the legislature, and the legal provisions issued by the Presidential Council. Thus, this is what obligates me and what demarcates my activity.

[Juszt] And the Army carries out orders as they should be carried out, as the minister's command says they should be carried out.

[Karpati] Obviously, that is our purpose.

[Juszt] Let us imagine: In a given situation, it is necessary to deploy the Army somewhere. You, in some manner, give a command. You say: Commander X, open up envelope K-54 and implement its orders. And you receive this answer over the telephone: I have opened it and I will not implement them. [words indistinct]

[Karpati] Look, there are very strict laws in this regard, and military statues contain specific stipulations. Apart from that, there is the military penal code. Thus, refusing a command is an extremely serious thing. For this, it is necessary to send the person concerned before a court with a military prosecutor and a military tribunal. This court holds proceedings and passes its judgement on such matters.

[Juszt] And if the officer is 200 km away from Budapest?

[Karpati] It is not distance which determines this. In all circumstances military leadership must see that orders which have been issued are implemented. Distance perhaps can make things a bit difficult, but there can be no building upon someone who does not implementing things due to distance, thus bringing us to a halt. We cannot come to a halt—that is a basic rule, a requirement of military life. [passage omitted]

[Juszt] The past weeks have brought, in part, your announcement that certain formations of the Soviet Southern Army Group are to leave Hungary. Then, you announced that the size of the Hungarian People's Army is to be reduced. You will enter Hungarian history, Hungarian military history, as the person in whose time of service withdrawals took place and the size of the forces was reduced.

[Karpati] I think that this issue cannot be so simplified. It is a given government, in a given world situation. A military leader has to be precisely aware what it means, after over 4 decades following the horrors of a second world war; of how weapons and means of destruction have developed; and what kinds of military force now exist in Europe, and in the world. I lived through a world war, through all of its horrors, or through many of these; and the young people are now growing up in this kind of atmosphere. So one'a main purpose is to avert this. If a person can do this—and obviously it does not just depend on me, although how I can satisfy this purpose at my post has something to do with it—then he must seize every opportunity to do so.

If we can now speak about being witnesses, participants in detente, I believe that every sober person can be pleased. If this also entails our people having to spend less on defense and weapons, then this also will be good. And only from this angle can such a thing be viewed.

[Juszt] What is the Hungarian People's Army like?

[Karpati] There is no simple answer, but a summary is unavoidable if I have to reply briefly: Our Army has developed very much in every regard—and I would put in first place the development of its intellect. This is thanks to the current officer corps being well-trained. They have reached officer grade after serious training; they are schooled and prepared. The decisive majority is made up of such people. This is the determining factor in the Army.

On the other hand, the enormous sacrifices which the country and the people have made over the past decades for their Army have modernized this army. It also is very important that it is perceived as being unified, well-grounded, and that it can be built upon. [passage omitted]

U.S. Foreign Relations Council Members Visit

Received by Szuros

LD0603201489 Budapest MTI in English 1319 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 6 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly, met the visiting delegation of the New York-based Council of External Relations headed by President Peter Peterson in the Budapest headquarters of the HSWP Central Committee on Monday. Cordial discussions were held on timely questions of the international situation and Hungary's international relations.

Mr Szuros briefed the American delegation on the Hungarian reforms, the political and economic renewal endeavours, and the process led by the HSWP aimed at reaching compromise with all relevant factors of society.

The discussion covered the current tasks and possibiities for the development of Hungarian-U.S. relations and the delegation declared support for the expansion of ties and the Hungarian reform endeavours.

Meet With Grosz

LD0603203589 Budapest MTI in English 2035 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Budapest, March 6 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, received the delegation of the American Foreign Relations Council, on Monday evening in the Central Committee Headquarters. Mr Grosz informed the delegation on the home and foreign political efforts of the HSWP, and answered the questions of the American politicians. Present at the cordial, informal discussion was Mark Palmer, ambassador of the United States of America to Hungary. [passage omitted]

Mr Grosz said: All developments that are taking place in the socialist countries, and even those which are not taking place in certain countries, closely concern Hungary. Hungary shall continue transformation, the road of renewal under all circumstances, he said, but a possible rearrangement in the Soviet Union would make the international conditions particularly difficult. Therefore, Mr Grosz said, our interest is that the Soviet Union master the current situation both from the political and the economic aspect. In our view, the general secretary added, the situation is similar in China, Poland, Hungary and, from an economic aspect, in Yugoslavia as well.

Mr Grosz also said that the building of relations with the West European countries and the United States has come to prominence in the past period. This, however, cannot substitute for the renewal of cooperation with the socialist countries. [passage omitted]

Confer With Nemeth

LD0803104489 Budapest MTI in English 1802 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 7 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received on Tuesday in parliament the delegation from the New York-based Foreign Relations Council, currently visiting Hungary under the leadership of President Peter Peterson.

Deputy Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs informed MTI on the subjects discussed at the meeting. The Hungarian prime minister first stressed the importance of the visit, referring to the fact that this is particularly important today, when the Hungarian situation is extremely complex and also interesting. Mr Nemeth discussed the century-long reasons for the coming about of the current crisis situation, and the errors of the past four decades. He listed among these the creation of the party state which considerably contributed to the current situation. He defined as the goal of the HSWP and the government the creation of a socialist society which relies on a democratic political system of institutions, and on an effectively-operating market economy. The prime minister also noted that the political reforms are ahead of the economic ones. However, the key to the solution was not to slow down the former, but to speed up the latter. In this context, he voiced his conviction that Hungary greatly requires international relations, due to its basic conditions.

The prime minister received with thanks an invitation from the Foreign Relations Council, asking him to hold a lecture during a possible future visit to the United States. Mr Nemeth also said that the agenda first should feature the visit to Hungary of President Bush. The delegation was interested in the evaluation of the activity of the alternative organizations, and the prospects of the parties being set up, but the number of parties that will have a genuinely strong influence within a few years will be only a quarter of this at most. Mr Nemeth informed the delegation about the conceptions of the HSWP, and the series of negotiations it held with the various alternative organizations and parties. Varied talks between the HSWP and the various groups to work out a possible agreement will begin on the basis of the experiences of these talks.

The delegation also was interested in the view formulated by the Soviet leadership about the changes in Hungary during Mr Nemeth's visit to the Soviet Union. In his reply, Mr Nemeth referred to the Kiev speech of General Secretary Gorbachev, in which he had stressed

that all socialist countries are progressing on their own road. This statement coincides with the Hungarian position, said Mr Kovacs in conclusion.

Hold Talks With Pozsgay

LD0803114289 Budapest MTI in English 2046 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 7 (MTI)—On Tuesday, Minster of State Imre Pozsgay met the delegation of the New York-based Foreign Relations Council.

In reply to questions, he said that the renewal of the Hungarian economy was conditional upon a sweeping transformation of the system of political institutions. He held it necessary to evolve a system that encourages economic initiatives. Experience showed, he said, that partial mendings in the system had always led to a rollback. Mr Pozsgay said that questioning the legitimacy of the party's reform wing strengthened the position of the conservative opponents of reform. It was a general phenomenon that economic reforms, and mainly restructuring, entailed first a decrease in the standard of living, which naturally reduced the attractiveness of reform.

The delegation met Sandor Demjan, presiding general manager of the Hungarian Credit Bank, and visited the stock exchange and the manager training centre.

MTI To Establish 'National Press Service'

LD0803184489 Budapest MTI in English 1452 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 8 (MTI)—The extensive renewal of social and economic life, the appearance of new parties, unions, federations, and societies, the expansion of the system of means of domestic mass media raises growing demands for the Hungarian news agency MTI. There are an increasing number of positions, appeals, statements and other communiques about which the issuing organizations expect the texts to be forwarded in full by MTI to the press. This is also requested by several editorial offices who wish to publish or comment on the texts in accordance with their own profile.

In the interest of meeting these demands, MTI is to provide telecommunication technology and set up a national press service which shall forward in full the material sent to MTI, on request of the writers of the documents and at their sole responsibility, after the materials have been provided to the editorial offices in accordance with the editing, genre and length standards of the news agency.

In view of the fact that MTI has the country's most extensive news service system and is connected with subscribers through a permanent network which forwards major amounts of information, it is considered the national press service can do a great deal to expand political publicity.

Worker Threatens Bombing if Wages Not Raised

LD2502215189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Dear viewers, it is exactly a week since the bomb explosion in the Budapest subway. At the beginning of the week a worker threatened to bomb the enterprise where he is employed if it does not raise wages. One of the news broadcasts indicated that Bekes County Police Headquarters started proceedings against a village painter and decorator because 20 decigrams of TNT had been found in his house. This is a very alarming series of events, or perhaps, it is not an exaggeration to call it a phenomenon, because there is more.

In Gyor, real live infantry ammunition has surfaced in the pockets and backpacks of primary schoolchildren, and not in a small quantity, either. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] According to the children's account—children who were brave enough to engage in a bit of the ammunition trade, but who did not dare appear before the camera—depending on the brand, the ammunition cost three to five forints per round. The commerce was carried out with Soviet soldiers. As panic spread, various reports arrived from the housing estates: There were cases in which lift engineers found smaller packages, and there were anonymous phone calls reporting bags full of gunpowder. At a builders yard people seemed to know about cannon ammunition as well. A lot of the reports proved to be exaggerated and without grounds.

The Gyor military prosecutor's office is carrying out investigations into the matter. The confiscated ammunition was sent for expert examination.

[Unidentified police spokesman] My colleagues are questioning the students and we are trying to throw light on the matter. We asked the Soviet military judicial authorities and the commander of Gyor's Soviet garrison to clarify the details of the matter. After the investigation is completed we will issue a full report.

Children Found With Soviet Munitions

LD0103030489 Budapest MTI in English 1739 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 28 (MTI)—Infantry munition bought from Soviet soldiers have been found on children of between 7 and 14 in Gyor.

The military prosecutor's office and the police have conducted joint investigations into the matter. MTI was informed by Gyor-Sopron County police that the authorities of the superior Soviet military unit have carried out their own extensive investigations. They expressed their regret over the case and said they have taken the necessary counter-measures.

Gyor-Sopron police supplemented the report of the Soviet military bodies by adding that, contrary to rumours going around police had no information so far about arms sales or purchases apart from munition.

MSZMP Holds Talks With Social Democrats

LD0603230289 Budapest MTI in English 2135 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 6 (MTI)—Representatives of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (SZDSZ) held talks in Budapest on Monday. SZDSZ representatives stressed they do not encourage elections ahead of time, and the dissolution of the present National Assembly. At the same time they proposed that parliament discuss the drafts of other laws in the coming period, instead of the constitution.

Gyorgy Fejti, head of the HSWP delegation to the talks, noted: The wide strata of society do not question the legitimacy of the current National Assembly. Marton Tardos (SZDSZ) stressed that society demands actions today. The governing party, he said, needs a strong and diverse opposition in the transitory period. The head of the HSWP delegation stressed that dialogue should be continued, and the creation of a permanent political coordination forum should also be considered.

Fejti Confers With Youth Representatives

LD0503174489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Eva Soos reports on the morning meeting between representatives of the MSZMP and the National Council of Hungarian Youth Federations [MISZOT].

[Soos] In his opening speech Gyorgy Fejti outlined the circumstances and reasons that justified holding these talks today. He also proposed that after the opening speech by the MISZOT chairman, substantive talks should continue without the presence of journalists. On the other hand, MISZOT Chairman Istvan Strumpf thought that as MISZOT representatives did not receive authorization from the youth organizations for this meeting, only seven of the membership have the right to detailed information about the timetable of the talks. Thus, it was in MISZOT's interests to have as much publicity as possible, and therefore, we were allowed to stay.

As for the issues negotiated, the MSZMP and MISZOT failed to agree on the participation of political parties and organizations at workplaces. Nor did they agree on creating a constitution that formulated the National Assembly, or on formulating a constitution. However, they did agree that the present situation is not ripe for holding early parliamentary elections, and that it is in everyone's interest for the celebration of 15 March to take place without violence. The MISZOT representatives said, however, that they could offer less guarantees on this, naturally, than those sitting on the other side of the table. The Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] representative expressed his grievance that some degree of discrimination against FIDESZ members still occurs, and that as long as this continues, they cannot consider themselves to be equal partners.

Another representative of the youth organizations asked for the elimination of the monopoly on information because, as he said, they often were able to obtain certain data only through private channels. Gyorgy Fejti promised that from now on the publications of the Central Statistical Office will be sent to MISZOT.

Representatives of the youth organizations themselves admitted that their ranks were not fully in agreement, and that differences of views exist within their organizations. Is it a good thing, for example, the MISZOT chairman asked, that the KISZ representative was sitting next to him instead of sitting on the other side, as a youth organization of the MSZMP?

Gyorgy Fejti summed up the talk, which could hardly be called a debate, by proposing that this conversation should be perceived as an exchange of views aimed at acquainting people with each other. His view is that MISZOT will have a place under any circumstances at a national roundtable talk, although both sides will still have to think about MISZOT's organizational structure and future status.

Ministry on Foreign Correspondent Rights

LD0503212489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Radio Free Europe correspondents have received permission to operate in Hungary. This was disclosed in the statement by the deputy chief of the Foreign Ministry's main press department. He said that in our country foreign journalists are entitled to the same rights as their Hungarian colleagues, so much so that recently the interest of Western countries toward our country has increased considerably. Among others, REUTER, the BBC, THE NEW YORK TIMES, and the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMAINE ZEITUNG have accredited correspondents in Hungary. Journalists from South Korea and Israel will also shortly arrive for several-year assignments in Hungary.

Entry permits will be grante by the relevant officials within 2-3 days. The Foreign Ministry official also said that the socialist states view the events taking place in our country from the point of view of their own internal

development. According to this, there are those who accurately report the developments, but there are also others who exclusively emphasize the negative.

New Solidarity Workers Federation Founded

LD0403223189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] The Solidarity Trade Union Workers Federation was founded a week ago at the Jurta Theater. In the spirit of self-organization, of building from below, they held their first demonstration in the countryside today, in the largest town of the southern Alfold region.

At 1600 in Dugonics Square in Szeged, young people gathered in front of the central building of the Jozsef Attila University of Sciences. There were perhaps 300 intellectuals and workers in attendance. The appeal was for a workers' rally. Its organizers were the Federation of Young Democrats, the Alliance of Free Democrats, and the Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers.

To be a democrat is tantamount to not being afraid, one of the speakers said, quoting Istvan Bibo. It is not so simple now, he added, because we are afraid, but fear does not solve the problems of our current life. Solidarity ensures genuine, active protection of the interests of workers, and it exhorts them to self-discipline, to caution. It helps to formulate the objectives clearly, so that under the impact of the growing social tensions, the workers' fist should not strike out but rather that the workers should symbolically take each other's hands.

For this reason, the participipants, with their signatures, were able to proclaim themselves founder-members of the workers' federation. At the same time, they signed another sheet, a protest against the strike law undergoing preparation, and against the planned amendment of the labor code.

Alternative Organizations Condemned for Protest

AU0103130689 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Feb 89 p 4

[Unattributed article: "Pen Point or Spearhead?"]

[Text] We have learned from MTI that the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] and the other three alternative organizations protested the communique issued on the talks between Karoly Grosz and Milos Jakes. As their lengthy statement sent to MTI shows, the "fact-finding trip of the FIDESZ foreign affairs working group" provided the basis for the protest. The fact-finders have been dealing quite arbitrarily with the facts. They call the CSSR a state that, in their view, is a continuing Stalinist dictatorship where the conditions of the Hungarian minority are only slightly more favorable than the conditions of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania. As a result, when the MSZMP leadership opted for the development of normal high-level relations with the CPCZ, it "endorsed all the political activities that have taken place in the CSSR since 1968."

A bit of crystal-clear logic, is it not? But, anyone who has visited the CSSR lately knows that it is impossible to compare this country with our southeastern neighbor in any way. The Hungarian-Czechoslovak dialogue and understanding—which Karoly Grosz endeavored to further develop in Prague—played a key role in the fact that the fate of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia has definitely changed for the better. These people are not called "Hungarian-speaking Slovaks." They do not cross the "green border," and they do not need refugee camps. By carelessly drawing a parallel between the situation of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia and that of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania, the FIDESZ "fact-finders" are harming the cause of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania. This is because they are raising doubts concerning all the facts that we disseminate to world public opinion, facts connected with the fate of these people.

Of course, the CSSR policy is formulated in Prague, just like our policy is formulated in Budapest, and each country's leaders draw their own conclusions from their own analysis. We live in 1989: No country requests another's agreement to its own domestic policy measures. Everyone is aware of the considerable prevailing differences. However, anyone who wants to interpret this as a recipe to break our contacts suggests only isolation, which directly contradicts the interests of our nation and which is a catastrophic policy, as is proven by the experiences of our history.

Besides, the document in question was signed by six persons, and let us add that they do not claim to have discussed this previously with the members of their organization. This, of course, only increases the responsibility of the unnamed FIDESZ "fact-finders" who must consider what kind of organization FIDESZ will represent in the Hungarian renewal. This process of thinking is clearly under way now. The December-January issue of NEMZETOR published in Munich carries an article by Andras Racz, "FIDESZ's spokesman in the FRG." He terms his organization the spearhead of Hungarian changes and draws a rational conclusion worthy of consideration: The organization is facing two alternatives. "Either it becomes a middle-of-the-road mass organization with great influence, and it thus could truly acquire great influence, or it remains what it is: the radical organization of a narrow extremist association...."

The substance and hissing language of the FIDESZ "fact-finding" makes it easier for us to agree with the spokesman's evaluation: For the time being, it will remain what it is. However, the other alternative would be desirable from the viewpoints of democracy and stability. Arguing rationally is better than needling in the dark, for a pen point is more pleasant than a spearhead.

Production Figures for 1988 Released

LD0103182289 Budapest MTI in English 1505 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 1, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—The decline in purchasing power caused losses in domestic sales to the light industry last year. Rouble exports declined by 7 per cent to 662 million roubles, but hard currency exports grew by 4 per cent and exceeded $700 million.

During the period 1982-1985, the light industry exported products worth $430 million annually and increased sales receipts in 1986-87 by 50 per cent to $640 million. The light industry is traditionally a heavily import-dependent industry, but recently the export-import ratio improved by $150 million and almost balanced by 1988.

Around 60 per cent of light industry products are sold on the domestic market and 40 per cent on foreign markets. In fact, 70-80 per cent of domestic consumption is covered by home made products.

Rouble markets take up 37 per cent of the production of the light industry, and 90 per cent of hard-currency exports were sold to the industrial countries in 1988.

The decline in rouble exports caused losses in some branches of the industry. The shoe industry had to post a record loss of 600 million forints and wind up manufacturing capacities.

A chronic labour shortage has meant serious problems for the industry.

The light industry is losing its workforce from year to year. In 1988, it employed only 317,000 people, whereas it had 400,000 workers in 1981. The principal cause of the decline is that pay is low and workers in most jobs have to work several shifts.

Several companies employ foreign—mainly Cuban—workers for multi-shift jobs, but the inter-state contract under which guest workers work here will be gradually phased out by 1990, leaving the industry with fresh problems, as the foreign workforce currently contributes 18-20 per cent to yarn production and 5-8 per cent of fabric production. The tax and price reform has hit the industry more heavily than anticipated, so that companies could make only between 40 and 45 per cent of the profits of the preceding year.

The volume of production declined in the whole of the industry by 1.1 per cent, and the workforce dwindled even more heavily. The combined effect was a 4.5-per-cent increase in productivity.

There follows a table of production values of the various branches of the light industry for January-December, 1988:

industry	prod. value in millions of forints	volume index
furniture industry	17,021	100.1
paper industry	21,369	102.5
printing industry	16,022	101.4
cotton industry	24,343	103.5
hemp, flax and jute ind.	7,674	106.4
wool industry	12,659	95.6
silk industry	3,487	101.8
haberdashery industry	4,895	103.5
knitwear industry	11,341	96.7
textile industry	64,400	100.8
leather and fur industry	12,452	92.8
shoe industry	17,753	89.4
textile clothing ind.	21,803	99.2
handicraft and cottage ind.	8,002	99.3
light industry, total	188,234	98.9

World Bank Issues Loan for Restructuring

AU0803150389 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Feb 89 p 7

[MTI report: "$140 Million for Restructuring—World Bank U.S. Dollar Loan"]

[Text] An agreement on providing Hungary with a $140-million World Bank loan was signed in Washington on 23 February.

The bulk of the loan will be used to finance the industrial enterprises' export-oriented investments. For the first time in the history of World Bank activities in Hungary, the bank will also support the development of small-scale ventures by means of the $10 million credit included in the aforementioned sum. In financing investments aimed at creating new jobs, it is not a requirement for the resulting products to be also marketable on convertible-currency markets. In addition to industrial enterprises, the loan can be used for investments in various enterprises that supply various industrial and business services, as well as for the processing of agricultural products.

Bank President Meets Austrian Counterpart

AU0803145689 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Feb 89 p 21

[Text] State Secretary Ferenc Barta, president of the Hungarian National Bank, met with Dr Hellmuth Klauhs, president of the Austrian National Bank, in Vienna on 24 February. At the talks, the two bank leaders discussed opportunities for cooperation between Austria and Hungary.

University Students March, Recall'68 Crackdown

LD0803160689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] A march by students from the University of Warsaw to the Adam Mickiewicz monument on Krakowski Przedmiescie took place today, the 21st anniversary of the March events. University authorities and representatives from Solidarity and the Independent Students Union laid bunches of flowers at the monument to the poet. Permission for this march was granted by the chief adminstrative officer of Warsaw-Srodmiescie District.

AFP Reports Demonstration

AU0803162789 Paris AFP in English 1601 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 8 (AFP)—More than 5,000 youths gathered here Wednesday to commemorate the 21st anniversary of a police crackdown on students at Warsaw University, in the first such demonstration authorized by city officials. University Rector Grzegorz Bialkowski placed flowers at the statue of Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz, a national hero committed to the respect of fundamental rights, only a few hundred meters (yards) from the campus.

During their march to the statue students shouted "Solidarity" and "NZS", the name of the banned Independent Students' Association.

Several students had been injured and thousands arrested in the police crackdown on March 8, 1968.

Mr. Bialkowski, who spoke to the demonstrators along with members of the outlawed Solidarity trade union and the NZS group, said police action had turned that day into a "day of national betrayal." Speakers stressed, however, that Poland was "entering a new stage in its history", as Solidarity, Rural Solidarity and NZS were about the be legalized. Rallies also took place in Krakow, Katowice, and Bialystok, but no incidents were reported.

Factory Activists Speak on Accord, Solidarity

AU1902143189 Warsaw KULTURA in Polish 25 Jan 89 pp 1, 6

[Transcript of workers 'roundtable' talk at the small-capacity car plant in Bielsko-Biala: "I Still Don't Trust Walesa"—date not given]

[Text] A "roundtable" discussion on the subject of political and trade union pluralism at the small capacity car plant in Bielsko-Biala [FSM] was attended by the following: Stanislaw Banaszak, PZPR factory committee secretary; Stanislaw Mlynarczyk, chairman of the independent trade union at this plant; Wladyslaw Papkoj, secretary of the primary party organization; Jozef Swoboda, foreman and former member of the PZPR and "Solidarity" and now trade union and workers council delegate; Eugeniusz Widyna, worker, member of the workers council, and "Solidarity" activist since 1980. KULTURA was represented by Edmund Zurek.

Edmund Zurek: I do not think there is a single home in Poland that is not discussing the theses presented by the 10th PZPR Plenum. Particularly lively talks are taking place in the factories. The theses have clearly shown the changes occurring in the party.

Stanislaw Banaszak: Julian Kraus, our factory committee's first secretary, spoke in the first part of the plenum. What he said led to a lively exchange of views, and not only in the FSM.

Stanislaw Mlynarczyk: I think every working person and every trade unionist has to involve himself in politics.

Wladyslaw Papkoj: Let us give people democracy, let us allow them to decide for themselves. The party must size up the opposition. What are we afraid of in the FSM? We are afraid that "Solidarity" might once again become a political party and organize strikes and unrest in Poland. What people want is calm and well-paid work.

Jozef Sobota: I cannot imagine two trade unions in one work place.

Eugeniusz Widyna: As a "Solidarity" member, I subscribe to what Lech Walesa says: I view social, economic, and political pluralism as a chance for Poland.

Edmund Zurek: How were relations between the party and "Solidarity" at the FSM?

Eugeniusz Widyna: Let me answer. First I will say a few things about myself. The December 1970 events in Szczecin changed my life. Following the workers demonstrations in Radom and Ursus in 1976, there was a rally at the local stadium that condemned these "hooligans." I did not go to it. That was a difficult decision to make, but when I look back on it today, I am happy that I made that decision. I felt my absence at this rally when I received my bonus pay, but this period of uncertainty only lasted 6 months. Everything went well at work. As a reward, I was sent on vacation to Italy for 18 days. I saw a lot then.

The FSM received a consignment of interesting new lathes. Our equipment was modernized. Anyone leaving the FSM today has no problem finding work.

Following stormy discussions, a "Solidarity" factory committee was set up in 1980. I belonged to it. Talks with the management started. I wish to make it clear that the FSM did not strike in 1980. There were only work stoppages. We put forth 21 demands, most of which conformed to the demands of the Gdansk dockers.

Cooperation between the party and "Solidarity" was good. Together we resolved many difficult and relevant issues.

Edmund Zurek: Ryszard Dziopak, the director and founder of FSM, left the factory. What was "Solidarity's" reaction?

Eugeniusz Widyna: At first, we defended him.

Stanislaw Banaszak: Let us stick to the facts. First of all, "Solidarity" attacked Director Dziopak and demanded his dismissal. When "Solidarity" members realized the danger to FSM, they changed their minds and said that, after all, Dziopak did establish this factory and was capable of managing it. When the administrative authorities met to decide what to do with him, "Solidarity" and the PZPR Factory Committee came out in his defense. But it was too late. The decision to sack him had already been taken.

Eugeniusz Widyna: As far as I know, Dziopak still belongs to the FSM party committee.

Stanislaw Banaszak: People have complained about the party's failure to save Dziopak. But our party organization did try to do so. There were various attempts to expel him from the party, but we did not agree to it.

Edmund Zurek: Early in 1981 there was a strike in Bielsko-Biala and vicinity that caused over Z2 billion worth of losses. It was the biggest strike ever organized by "Solidarity."

Eugeniusz Widyna: The factory "Solidarity" committee and I did not agree to the idea of 100 factories coming out on strike in support of three robbers.

Edmund Zurek: Those three robbers, as you call them, in other words the PZPR voivodship committee first secretary, voivoda, and deputy voivoda, were later found not guilty!

Eugeniusz Widyna: "Solidarity" regional representatives produced documents that clearly proved their guilt.

Edmund Zurek: No, some of this evidence was fabricated. Because of the strike that caused such enormous losses, the three accused and their families were disgraced.

Eugeniusz Widyna: There was no strike in FSM following the declaration of martial law. The plant worked normally. For me, "Solidarity" was a serious and noble social idea. Its ideals still guide me, and I do not hide that fact.

Edmund Zurek: How did you react to the new trade unions?

Eugeniusz Widyna: I interfered with their creation. Because of that, I was drafted into the Army. I found myself in the woods. The commander of my unit, a major, asked me why I did not like the new trade unions. I explained that the government had created them, but in fact trade unions should arise of their own accord, without any help from the government or the party. I said to him: If you do not believe me, Major, then go and talk to the workers. My unit consisted of people from various walks of life. There was a deputy factory manager, sculptors, actors, and teachers.

I was accepted by the FSM without any trouble. I even received the same pay raises as everyone else.

Yes, I did collect money for those whom the FSM had sacked for their political convictions. The money was intended for their families. These people never got their jobs back, despite my efforts with the administration and with the workers council. We at the FSM pursued healthy trade union activity in 1980 and 1981. We did not indulge in politics like the trade unions in other large enterprises. The party was not expelled from the FSM, like it was in Zywiec, for example.

Stanislaw Banaszek: Personally I did not and still do not approve of the idea of factory radio stations indulging in politics. Party meetings and the media are the right places for politics.

Eugeniusz Widyna: Martial law was harmful to our factory. Today, no one in the factory party committee denies that "Solidarity" organized a "witch hunt" here in 1981, and that "Solidarity" hunted down the directors. Martial law harmed our factory because it set people against each other; not much, but nevertheless it did so. It caused mutual mistrust.

Jozef Sobota: "Solidarity" suffered serious losses because of irresponsible people.

Edmund Zurek: Let me repeat the question that is most frequently asked in Poland. Are you gentlemen in favor of trade union pluralism?

Eugeniusz Widyna: The chairman of our workers council reckons that if democracy is permitted in Poland, there will be 40 trade unions at the FSM. I think there should be two unions. The management will talk to their representatives.

We all say trade unions, but in fact we mean politics. The Associations Act, dealing with associations that will indulge in politics, has not been passed yet. There are going to be political clubs, and whoever wants to indulge in politics with a capital P will be able to do so in these clubs. I have already said that if this act is passed, I will open a political debating society for workers with different convictions. Once these various political clubs and associations have been created, politics will leave the factory. In order to earn as much as possible, it is necessary to work as much as possible. There will not even be time to read a newspaper.

The party should also adhere to its own functions, in other words politics and cooperation with people, and not indulge in factory management.

PRON? We have a PRON body here. What is it doing? Nothing at all. PRON can be useful outside the factory, in residential areas, but not here.

Edmund Zurek: What is the difference between the "Solidarity" of 1989, an opposition that has still not been legalized, and the "Solidarity" of 1980 and 1981?

Eugeniusz Widyna: The same difference as between the PZPR of 1980 and the PZPR today. There have been changes in the PZPR and in "Solidarity."

Edmund Zurek: Can you rule out the possibility of a conflict in FSM if "Solidarity" is legalized?

Eugeniusz Widyna: I will answer in an indirect way. Calm inside a factory depends on many factors and many people. A lot depends on party members and on those who govern them. It is fortunate for the FSM that that our party committee first secretary, Julian Kraus, has always managed to forestall events. He did so in 1980, in 1983, and in 1989. Kraus has never had problems with talking to people who hold various political views. I heard his speech on political and trade union pluralism at the first part of the plenum. I am convinced that he knows more than the colleagues who will sit next to him during the second part of the plenum.

I wonder when there will be a vote in favor of legalizing "Solidarity." It is bound to happen some time.

Wladyslaw Papkoj: In my factory division, division no 1, 70 percent of the employees are trade unionists. The workers are saying: We ourselves are not going to say what kind of trade unions we want. No one is interfering with "Solidarity." We trade unionists are asking "Solidarity" members to come to us and act jointly with us.

Eugeniusz Widyna: I have a list of people in two large factory divisions who would like to join "Solidarity." I respect the present trade union. I want trade union pluralism, so I have to respect the other side.

I have party and nonparty friends. I have told my friends in the opposition that no one is going to dictate terms to me and tell me whom I can talk to and on what subject.

Stanislaw Banaszak: As a secretary, I pursue a similar policy. I talk to the opposition. I will not let anyone tell me whom I can talk to and whom I cannot. Thus, I know a lot about what is happening among the bottom ranks.

The working people will choose their union themselves. A certain Liszka, a worker on the production line, went around the plant enrolling people for "Solidarity." In the end, he was frightened into stopping this activity.

Eugeniusz Widyna: I told Liszka to enroll people. In the end, I had to finish his work for him because work supervisors intimidated him.

Stanislaw Banaszak: People with me on the production line are opposed to the legalization of "Solidarity."

Eugeniusz Widyna: No, they are not opposed to it, they are just scared of it.

Stanislaw Banaszak: Very few people in my division signed the "Solidarity" enrollment list. People say: If you impose "Solidarity" on us now, we will join neither "Solidarity" nor any other union.

Jozef Sobota: The matter is rather complicated. One can say that there are two groups in the factory. I myself am opposed to "Solidarity." I used to belong to it, and I valued it as a social movement. Lech Walesa did have support in 1980 and 1982, but the strikes, plus statements like "clutching at jaws" which he made in Radom, made me lose trust in him.

Eugeniusz Widyna: This statement of Walesa's was misinterpreted, just like many others. For the past 8 years, the former "Solidarity" leader has not been able to speak out in the media.

Jozef Sobota: I left "Solidarity." Walesa has changed. He has become wiser and more mature. But what is he really aiming at? "Solidarity" in our plant really was active.

How would the management cope with two unions now? Each one would like to squeeze out of the management as much as possible for its members. I have a very good opinion about our friend Widyn here, a "Solidarity" aktivist.

Stanislaw Banaszak: Party people respect him as well.

Wladyslaw Papkoj: But if a former aktivist like Fraczek were to reappear, he would be thrown out, or carted out in a wheelbarrow.

Jozef Sobota: Perhaps not in a wheelbarrow, our people are not as aggressive as that. Fraczek was in my work brigade. He is a good friend, but he is not suited to be a leader.

Eugeniusz Wodyna: Gentlemen, you are afraid of Andrzej Krawczynski and Jan Fraczek. But you do not know what they are like. You would not even recognize Fraczek today.

Edmund Zurek: Do you think "Solidarity" will be recognized as a legal trade union soon?

Eugeniusz Widyna: It must be. A considerable proportion of society supports it. The economic reform cannot succeed unless it gains "Solidarity's" support. The recognition of "Solidarity" will be an expansion of democracy. What is democracy based on? Elections!

A trade union should not be financed by its director. Trade union aktivists should be paid out of membership dues. I belong to a workers council, and I know what is going on. All kinds of bonuses are being granted these days. Trade union and self-management aktivists are receiving them. It is the same in the party, but I am not interested in that, because I have never interfered with the party and still do not do so.

Stanislaw Banaszak: What is a trade union in a factory? What is it supposed to do there? Is it a real representative of the work force?

I would not divide this work force into members of the official unions on the one hand and "Solidarity" sympathizers on the other. Those are arbitrary divisions.

We have one work force, and whatever the differences between our political views, we cooperate with each other.

I am convinced that one trade union in a factory would be enough, as long as it really represents the work force.

I suppose you want to say that trade union aktivists are in the manager's keep.

Eugeniusz Widyna: Yes, and because of that they are dependent on him.

Stanislaw Banaszak: That is a loud topic, and no one is making a secret of it. It is true. Trade union aktivists are chosen to perform some function, and they accept bonuses. Do they deserve them? The solution you suggest is correct, because trade unionists under different political systems are paid out of membership dues.

Let us assume there will be two trade unions here. Aktivists in both of them will be paid out of so-called membership dues, because a union must have money. But will these dues be enough to pay these aktivists, these leaders? Enormous sums are required.

Unless I am mistaken, out of 7,000 employees in No 1 division, you only collected 600 signatures of people willing to join "Solidarity."

I see another solution; new elections, the election of new leaders. And then the trade union can continue to function. But the "Solidarity" label is all that counts here. That is my feeling, and I do not think I am mistaken, because I am with the workers everyday, and know what I am talking about. Are you sure you would be able to support these leaders? Would the membership dues be enough to pay them?

Eugeniusz Widyna: We assume there will be two unions in one plant.

Stanislaw Banaszak: You mean you think there would be enough money to pay both sets of trade union leaders?

Eugeniusz Widyna: At least the trade unions would be real ones. Their leaders would not be resting on their laurels. Apart from that, both unions would be subject to the same law, and without any pressure from the administration. If a foreman competes for and wins a trade union leadership post, he may never be a foreman again.

Jozef Sobota: I know someone in that very situation. He quit his job as a senior technician because he wanted to be trade union deputy chairman. If someone is a really good trade union aktivist, he should stay in the union for the benefit of the work force. His absence on the production floor should not be a cause for regret.

I cannot see two unions in one factory. There would be competition between them. Workers would ask: Which one offers more? As a foreman, I have 20 people under me. What if these people become divided into two camps? Work will never be the same.

Edmund Zurek: Will a desire to perform production tasks as well as possible, the need to stand out as a good worker, professional pride, and the need to earn more not serve as a sufficient encouragement to unite workers?

Jozef Sobota: Work on its own will not unite people. Of course, they will not fight each other, but they will divide themselves into camps. And look what would happen if someone receives a bigger bonus!

Eugeniusz Widyna: The point is a general change of system, an abolition of the vestiges of Stalinism. Before, the ZSL and SD did not have much to say, but today these parties are really beginning to mean something. Only now can one talk of a party coalition. But even so, there ought to be a legal opposition.

What is happening in Hungary? New parties are emerging there. As for trade unions, show me a place where there are two unions and where they are at each other's throats.

Jozef Sobota: But the unions are outside the factories everywhere else.

Eugeniusz Widyna: Did I say they have to be inside? Let them go outside!

Jozef Sobota: It does not make any difference if there are five unions outside.

Eugeniusz Widyna: Show me a European country that possesses trade union pluralism and is in a worse situation than Poland. Show me a country with such a

scientific and intellectual potential as Poland, with such natural resources, and such access to the sea? By the way, I paid Z500 for two herrings yesterday.

Why should these trade union divide the workers? Why should they not unite them?

Wladyslaw Papkoj: The party and the unions have one purpose, to defend the interests of the workers class. Right now we are increasing our ranks.

I personally do not care what the new union is called, as long as it is a powerful union that unites the work force, encourages it to work, and defends its interests.

I sometimes have the following situation. A trade unionist comes up to me and says: Comrade Secretary, could you help me settle this matter? And we do so together. At another time, a trade union delegate came to me in order to arrange something for a former "Solidarity" member. And we did so successfully.

Stanislaw Banaszak: Why can't Widyna see the possibility of united action by the entire work force, people with different orientations?

Wladyslaw Papkoj: I happen to have a good opinion of Widyna. I do not mind if he is a "Solidarity" man.

Jozef Sobota: I value Widyna, the "Solidarity" man very much.

Eugeniusz Widyna: Two unions will be a real force. Seeing that you have brought me to the subject, let me say that if there were to be one union in the factory, I would leave the union. One union does not present a choice. If there is one union, it will always be under the influence of the management. I do not see why two unions cannot cooperate. We all work together, "Solidarity" men and official union men. We do not argue. We help each other.

The most important matters of workers are settled at management level, at the very top.

Stanislaw Banaszak: Trade unionists have been considerably active over the past 4 years. One cannot take that away from them.

Eugeniusz Widyuna: I am not taking anything from them. The workers themselves will say what they think of trade union pluralism.

Stanislaw Banaszak: There is no shortage of democracy either in Poland or in our factory. Anyone can say anything he likes, everywhere.

Eugeniusz Widyna: Yes, but nothing comes of it.

Stanislaw Banaszak: I have not come across a single remark made at party meetings that has not been noted. Workers present all kinds of petty matters. Everyone has complete freedom to speak. There is full democracy here. As far as democracy is concerned, we have gone all the way.

Eugeniusz Widyna: I agree. What I am interested in is the safeguards for freedom, safeguards against violations of rules and abuse.

Mieczyslaw Papkoj: It is a fact that "Solidarity" does exist informally in our no 1 division. This is shown by the 700 people who have enrolled in it. Therefore this is a serious group to which one should pay attention. We would be wrong not to do so. We have to see to it that they are satisfied.

Wladyslaw Papkoj: Lech Walesa, the "Solidarity" leader, won the Nobel Prize, and the president of France invited him to France. Walesa spoke with a great deal of conviction during the television debate with Miodowicz. No doubt he has intelligent advisers, but he himself is capable of choosing what is the most important. I still do not trust Walesa. All that has to be taken into consideration for the sake of the common welfare. I hope we are together capable of pulling the cart in the same direction.

Stanislaw Mlynarczyk: Politics creates a vision of development, a vision of the country's future. It affects the standard of living of its citizens. Lech Walesa's slogans are attracting a proportion of society. Favorable changes have taken place in Poland over the past 8 years, but still not to the extent that we would like. That is why a strong program by the opposition may win. But in that case, the party and government will lose.

Edmund Zurek: Is the party's place inside or outside the factories?

Eugeniusz Widyna: The trade unions and the party should act outside the factories. In the kind of situation we have in Poland, I see enough room for two trade unions and the party in the factories. If the unions leave the factories, then so should the party. In that case, the party should be out among the people.

Jozef Sobota: I used to be on the Executive Board of the PZPR factory committee. But I quit in 1983, because the committee passed resolutions but failed to implement them. No one wanted to listen to us.

Wladyslaw Papkoj: The workers class in factories forms the basis of the party. Therefore one cannot separate the party from the factories.

It is a fact that the party's activity among social milieus is weak. In places where a party member should set a shining example, like at his place of residence, he is sometimes afraid of showing his membership card. And yet the greatest possible scope of action exists for the party right now.

Eugeniusz Widyna: I would like national accord and full democracy to rule the country. But this should come about by evolution, not revolution.

Edmund Zurek: Thank you for the honest and business-like talk, in which parochial and private affairs were pushed aside to make room to fundamental problems, in other words the future of the country.

Rakowski Delivers Speech at Voivodas Conference

AU0803172689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Mar 89 p 2

[Speech by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, at a conference of voivodas held in Warsaw on 1 March]

[Text] All the issues that we have discussed today, the difficult and awkward problems with which we have to live, and also those problems that we are successfully solving should be viewed as being closely linked to the great changes that are taking place in socialism. Only this kind of starting-point can be a source of optimism and give us some satisfaction and enjoyment in our work.

The state administration at all levels is playing an exceptionally important role in the process of change that is taking place in our country. Without bold, efficient, and dynamic action on the part of the state administration, the idea of the strong state that Poland needs will remain nothing but an empty concept. During this difficult period in which Poland finds itself, voivodas and voivodship offices have a particularly responsible role to play. You are the main framework of the administrative structure of the state. Without you, even a government that is made up of the most talented individuals would be unable to govern the state effectively and to strengthen the state structures that assure citizens a secure and dignified life. Please do not think that I am just trying to flatter you. I am just acknowledging an obvious fact.

The state administration does not have an easy life. Bodies at the national level are continually increasing their demands. The voivoda must be in two, three places at the same time to put things right, to deal with problems that are often complex and severe. However sincerely an official may wish to help, the citizen who does not get what common sense tells him he is entitled to does not always use—to put it mildly—particularly polite language to describe representatives of the authorities. It should also be mentioned that there are frequent cases of the official who acts entirely in accordance with law coming up against the pejorative term a dyed-in-the-wool bureaucrat. We have acquired a new term recently. An embittered client who had failed to have some thing settled by a certain office—the office could not deal with the matter as it simply did not have the authority to do so—wrote to me to say that this was pure Stalinism. That is all it takes to become a Stalinist.

We do not deny that there people among the several-thousand-strong army of state administration employees who do not earn us praise through their attitudes and conduct. We are familiar with those cases of arrogance, insensitivity, of treating clients in the manner of "I will show you who is boss around here." However, at the same time, there are people at all levels of the state administration who are educated, gifted, energetic, selfless, and, above all, who understand the duties of the civil servant. They are the people that we are banking on. We pin our hopes on them. The voivoda's personnel policy should consist in seeking out the most able employees of this kind and advancing their careers in a wise and sensible way.

I said that Poland requires a strong state. This is a timely reminder. Poland has suffered from the absence of strong state for centuries. If we take a look at our current state from the law observance angle, then it has to be said that we still have a long way to go before we achieve a state of affairs that suits and satisfies the interest of the people. The law is often circumvented and is often broken, even flagrantly. The authorities at various levels, from top to bottom, are also not entirely blameless in this respect.

Our greatest weakness in this area is a lack of resourcefulness, a lack of resolve in enforcing the law. This fact encourages anarchistic troublemakers to engage in behavior that often results in criminal public order violations. I charge voivodas and internal affairs offices with taking resolute action against all manner of disturbances and hooliganism. Those who are fond of causing trouble, who reach for stones and destroy public property, should be reminded of the principles that are in force in civilized world. Whoever violates public order, disrupts the peace, should be strongly reminded of these principles. People who destroy public property should be made to pay for the damage that they cause or make up for the losses that they have caused in some other way. Maximum use should be made of existing legislation to strengthen a general public belief that the rhythm of life in Poland will not be dictated by troublemakers from the Confederation for an Independent Poland or some other group. I do not doubt for a moment that the majority of society would support the authorities in giving a lesson in civic conduct to those who seem to think that democracy is the same thing as anarchy. Fights and disturbances in the streets of our cities pose a serious threat to the renewal of all areas of public and economic life that we need so much.

The construction of a new social, economic, and political order is taking place under exceptionally difficult circumstances; since we know what they are, I will not list them.

However, the rate at which these changes are taking place merits consideration. Are the changes proceeding at the right speed or are they too slow? There is no generally accepted opinion on this subject—this is understandable—but the majority view seems to be that the rate of change is too slow with respect to both the economy and public life. We are told that we have the right programs, but that their implementation leaves a lot to be a desired. These impressions should not be disregarded. It has to be borne in mind that the independent operation of economic laws and democratic processes is still not strong enough to force progress automatically and destroy what is old and hinders development.

Everyday the mass media reports on the checks, obstacles, and forms of behavior that impede progress. Many people often fail to even realize how tied they are to the past, and they are convinced that they are acting in accordance with the spirit of the times. In our actions, we in the state administration are also often prisoners of ways of thinking and of assessing events and phenomena according to criteria that we have acquired over the past decades. Of course, deliberate attempts to sabotage the reform program cannot be excluded in the constant struggle between the new and the old. In a period of such great changes, not to say upheavals, resistance to change can have a great variety of causes. There are undoubtedly people in Poland who consider the reform course heresy. There are also people who want to exploit the reforms in order to crush socialism.

This makes it pertinent to ask whether it would not be possible to speed up the construction of a new order and to increase the number of successes that strengthen a belief in society that it is worth tying one's future to the economic reform with all its material and non-material effects. The rate of change can be speeded up on condition that those exercise leadership at all levels focus their entire energy on encouraging social activity. Political and state bodies at the national level have provided ample evidence, especially recently, of their determination to force through reform. However, even the most determined energetic activity on our part will not produce the desired results if it is not supported by the existence of a widespread belief among the public that its active participation in this enormous process of reorganization will determine how we cope with the effects of the crisis and the creation of new sociopolitical and economic relations.

To avoid charges of naivety, because it is, after all, impossible to achieve a level of activity that involves all society under normal conditions, I will explain that what we are concerned about is obtaining support for the reforms from people who are already operating in social structures that constitute permanent element in our socialist system. I am thinking of people's councils, employee self-management bodies, and cooperative self-management councils. It is not only a question of the members of people's councils making their presence more strongly felt in regional government, but also of council members becoming leaders of socialist renewal in their communities. Of course, there are different kinds of council members, just as there are different kinds of people. I am not going to get involved in assessing their work, because I have no right to. However, I have a right and a duty to expect the state administration not only to respect people's councils and their members—and this does not always happen—but also to require members of people's councils to be personally and visibly involved in the reorganization of our public and economic life in the communities in which they live.

Employee self-management bodies can and should play a particularly important role in strengthening the ranks of the supporters of economic reform. The self-management body is and should be our most important ally in the process of reforming the economy.

We have no intention whatsoever of curbing the rights of self-management bodies. I am saying this in view of the discussion that arose over the draft law on certain conditions for the consolidation of the national economy and on draft amendments submitted to the Sejm by the government. The gentlemen who represent the opposition at the "roundtable" team for the economy and social policy energetically protested this proposed legislation of ours and viewed it as evidence of a blood-thirsty desire to strangle employee self-management on the part of the Rakowski government. I am surprised that serious people—I will not mention any names for fear of leaving someone important out—resort to demagogy so easily. What is the point of this? Who needs this?

Employee self-management is a permanent structural element in our reformed economy. Some employee self-management bodies that are very much involved in politics have written to me saying that they suspect the government of having dishonorable intentions toward self-management bodies. That is a waste of time and money. The very thing I want is to see employee self-management bodies look after plant interests, to see them act as a force that opposes unjustified price hikes and excessive wage demands.

However, I regret to have to say that the information that I have indicates that self-management bodies, employee councils, to be more precise, were not in evidence during many strikes in which strike organizers and participants called for across-the-board wage hikes of Z20,000 or Z30,000. That is to say, the councils were present, but not where one would like them to be.

The law passed by the Sejm is intended to facilitate the speeding up of reform process in the economy and the government is far from being favorably disposed toward imposing restrictions on self-management bodies. However, the point is that to accelerate these processes the government requires effective instruments that will enable it to act. There is enough room for achieving

progress in the economy to satisfy both employee self-management bodies and the government. It is a question of not wasting time and energy on tilting windmills.

I have also explained the government's position with respect to employee self-management bodies, because I believe that voivodas should closely cooperate with employee self-management councils, to rouse them into activity when—this is sometimes the case—they are excessively sluggish, into activity whose goal should not only be the well-being of the enterprise, but also that of society as a whole.

Orzechowski Discusses Socialism on Television

AU0803124689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Feb 89 p 7

[Unattributed report: "A Time of Great Chances"]

[Text] Professor Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], appeared in the 27 February installment of a series of television programs entitled "Socialism Yes—But What Kind?" Here are some of the things he said:

We realize that we are in a period of great changes in Poland, Europe, and the whole world. But what does that mean to us Poles and our country?

First of all, it means a great chance to solve our national economic, political, cultural, and moral problems independently, in accordance with our aspirations, and in accordance with the rules and principles which we ourselves will work out.

In my opinion, and in the opinion of my party and that of our allies, the peasant and democratic parties, the best road leading to this objective is modern socialism.

Many of the letters I receive ask why we talk about how socialism should be, when many of the shortcomings surrounding us are socialism's fault. It is socialism's fault that Poland is in its present state which is so contrary to society's expectation, the authors of these letters say.

Although I appreciate the bitterness and disappointment conveyed by such views, I cannot agree with them. The truth is different. The reason for the present state of reality is that there is not enough socialism, and what there is of it has been distorted in practice.

A new shape of socialism is only just being created. Its outline is only now becoming visible. This outline was presented by the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. The way to this new shape is being paved by the reformist activity of Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski's government. The legislative framework for this new socialism is being provided by the Sejm. We are also listening to the opposition with greater attention. The opposition can present its own views on Poland's present and future more openly than it could before, and that is probably how it will remain. The creation of a better Poland, the kind we are dreaming of, should be the joint work of all of us.

I wish to stress that the 10th plenum has opened a really new chapter in the solving of our national problems. I think many of us still do not realize the implications of making the latest oft-repeated concepts of parliamentary democracy, a civic society, a modern party of the working people, and an abolition of the last vestiges of Stalinism official guidelines for our national development. To all this, we can add a new economic system, far-reaching changes in ownership, and political and trade union pluralism. In fact, all this constitutes an opening of the road to a complete restructuring of the system and to a completely new way of exercising authority. These are fundamental matters. From this angle, I think it is worth taking a look at what is happening around us.

Leading Poland across this difficult threshold of profound changes calmly and harmoniously, with no upheavals, and with minimal cost to society, is a measure of the responsibility of all patriotic and constructive political forces in Poland. This is very difficult, but it is possible.

We realize that the transitional period, meant to last several years, will be fraught with danger. There are many reasons for this danger, including the extremely difficult economic situation, the state of our social consciousness, our impatience, and the latest sharp political disputes about the direction and speed of the changes.

I personally think that the greatest danger is posed by a fall in our individual and collective work ethics. Please observe how easy it has become to resort to final measures in factory disputes, how easy it is to turn one's back on one's work place and strike. But that is not all. Look how frequently collective egoism supersedes the common welfare. We can all see with the naked eye how much disrespect there is for the effort and toil of others, how our own duties are being neglected, and how social attitudes are dominated by demands.

Should we not set up a social front of our own that rejects all these phenomena? Should we not oppose them? After all, they are like a cancerous growth that is threatening to overwhelm our national organism. It is in our national interest to put an end to this and erect an effective dam against it. We can only solve our national problems ourselves, through our own work and effort. This we have to do legally, harmoniously, and collectively. No one will do it for us.

In the meantime, our historic Polish quadrille is continuing. It is best expressed in the "roundtable." Watching the television reports about it, one gains the impression that we are listening to a great national choir of wishes and suggestions that is very capable of saying what is happening, but less capable of finding solutions, capable

of putting forth proposals, but less capable of implementing them. The justified slogans of democracy, independence, and greater social control, qualities to which we all subscribe, frequently conceal ideas that weaken the state and its structures. There are attempts to replace the monopoly of the interests of some with a monopoly of the interests of others.

No doubt you have realized, ladies and gentlemen, that rivalry over symbols and slogans of identification is occurring at the "roundtable." When one takes a closer look at this, one gains the impression that the supreme common denominator of the welfare, success, and future of Poland is being blotted out in the process.

This is accompanied by a feeling of indifference toward the law and arrogance toward the peacekeeping bodies. This has been displayed in the streets of our cities and in the halls of our very respectable Polish colleges.

A serious observer of what is happening around us may conclude that this signifies a return to 1980 and 1981. Obviously, it is increasing the fears of those who remember that dramatic period. Those in favor of profound changes in our country are becoming increasingly worried. At the same time, the position of opponents to dialogue and the profound changes is being strengthened. In a nutshell, all this is weakening our joint argumentation in favor of the reforms and accord.

There also seems to be a feeling of doubt in the sense of the "roundtable" these days. And yet a new dimension of political and trade union pluralism and dialogue with those who think differently, including the opposition, is a historic necessity and our great national chance. Obviously, the national accord to which the "roundtable" is leading will not satisfy all the shortages in our Polish homes by itself, but it is also obvious that without national accord it would be even more difficult, perhaps even impossible, to satisfy these shortages. We realize that.

It is difficult to say how long this period of transition will last, how much longer we will have to struggle with economic and political difficulties, and when the changes in which we are all taking part will bring about a new, better, and richer Poland. Pessimists say that the lifetimes of entire generations, decades, are required. Optimists say that only a few years are required. I am an optimist, and I think a few years is enough, not entire decades and generations. The future depends on us and us alone.

I firmly believe that my 2 million-member PZPR, its allied parties, and our entire Polish society and Polish workers class can afford the effort required for our people's republic to greet its 50th anniversary with dignity and in a considerably healthier and better condition than today.

Minister Wilczek Cited on Management Issues

PM0603092689 Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 17 Feb 89 pp 3-4

[Interview with Minister of Industry Mieczyslaw Wilczek by TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA correspondent Anna Wozniak; date, place not given]

[Text] [Wozniak] After several months as minister, are you still as optimistic as you were in the beginning?

[Wilczek] I am even more optimistic. The reason is simple: I now know the condition of our economy much better. We are by no means a potentially indigent country. Nature has equipped us with some assets. After all, we have an industry and we have qualified personnel among both workers and the intelligentsia—and not only technical intelligentsia, either. We are beginning to put the economy in order. The past year brought us a 6-percent production increase. I know that the general public feels this increase is not enough: Everyone is sick and tired of living hand to mouth and is complaining about it. This is why the government has adopted the principle of the offensive and the strategy of applying new solutions that have not been tried before. Within the government I, too, have adopted this strategy. Anything that has not worked for years will have to be changed. The whole philosophy of applying such a commonsense approach is embodied in the national economy consolidation program. I regard the new legislation which promotes enterprise in every field of the economy as a stimulant which is bound to bring benefits—not over long decades but in a period of time which is acceptable to the public and remains within the grasp of people's imagination.

[Wozniak] The government will not be able to implement even the best program on its own. Society demands—and within it individual citizens demand—a bigger share in the decisionmaking process, not only in public affairs but also in their own work places. Among other things, this would be the role of workers' self-management structures. But people say that you personally are not a great enthusiast for self-management structures.

[Wilczek] I say so myself, because I am a sworn advocate of optimum solutions in the sphere of production and management. In my opinion, the only system that is verifiable and has already been verified on a worldwide scale is the managerial system. It works as follows: The director manages the enterprise within the framework of existing legislation, while the trade unions look after their own concerns. However, I believe that the method of socializing management should not necessarily be sought via self-management structures. I am more in favor of the concept of a state enterprise that operates as a joint stock company in which the board of governors is in charge of the final decisions. Within this concept the director is a manager whose hands are not tied, who takes good care of the company and its people, and who—first and foremost—manages it so as to be able to pay his employees a decent wage. Consequently they will

be able to meet all their needs themselves. All attempts—by whatever means—to replace the system of decent wages for decent work with some kind of ballot system come to a sticky end. This is my opinion, though I must admit that I know enterprises in which directors, trade unions, and self-management structures cooperate really well. But I also know enterprises where none of these elements works well or where one element is defective, and that affects the whole. What I want is to work out a truly sound operational system for enterprises in which all elements work well and none are defective.

[Wozniak] Who makes a good manager?

[Wilczek] Anyone who, apart from certain formal qualifications, has that special divine spark. He can be an engineer, a lawyer, or an economist, but he will always understand economic relations and mechanisms and have a talent for business. There is one more essential condition: He must command authority. And authority is created from a combination of various elements: Our man will be intelligent, or he will have a talent for defusing potential conflicts, or else he will be a good negotiator. Ideally he should have all these attributes. Moreover, on top of all this, he must be a civilized person to deal with.

[Wozniak] Are you suggesting he should handle things with kid gloves? In the present circumstances?

[Wilczek] Not at all. You can rule with an iron grip and determination, but your ruling method must nevertheless be acceptable to your subordinates at all levels. This is why I believe that the question of civilized standards is extremely important. It is not only directors who should act in a civilized way, it would be good if foremen and rank-and-file workers would do likewise. Many disastrous developments in our factories occur not because there is a lack of money, for example, but precisely because there is a lack of civilized behavior. This is why I believe that we must urgently change our attitude to the intelligentsia and, above all, that we must start paying decent salaries to teachers so that our first models of civilized behavior in all kinds of circumstances are provided by our teachers and schools. Countries that have achieved a high measure of success owe it partly to the fact that they boast high standards of civilized interpersonal relations—particularly in the working environment. After all, civilization means more than just technological development.

[Wozniak] Can success become a kind of religion or, as we say today, a new philosophy?

[Wilczek] People, nations, and societies all need success as much as they need air to breathe. Man cannot live with the conviction that he is doomed to failure and privation and that for some reason or other he cannot possibly achieve success. That is a most disheartening thought. Personally, I always rebelled against such an attitude and set out to prove to myself that it is possible to achieve success despite all the difficulties. Generally speaking, however, I maintain that we exaggerate in taking such a gloomy view of our reality and that things are not as bad in Poland as everybody claims these days. The gloomy picture is sometimes the consequence of fallacious comparisons and incorrect frames of reference. You just cannot negate everything and anything! All the same, I do believe that there is still a great deal to be done to improve things in our country. There is nothing to prevent us from doing so. If there are any obstacles, they exist within us: in our lack of faith in the possibility of getting anything done.

[Wozniak] ...And living a normal life in a normal country?

[Wilczek] Certainly. I myself want first and foremost to convince people that ours is a normal country and that we can behave normally in it. I also expect our foreign partners to treat me normally. I do not go around begging with my hand outstretched; I am a normal partner from a normal country.

[Wozniak] What is it that prevents us from behaving normally, then?

[Wilczek] Mostly the sense, or rather a lack of belief that our fate is really in our hands. Let me quote General Jaruzelski here. He once said: A soldier has innumerable duties, but also one inalienable right— to be under good command. I would apply that right more universally. We have a right to be a well-governed society. Hence the citizens' justified demands and expectations. They want to be governed sensibly by enlightened people and they want all citizens to be able to influence those who govern them. Or, if they decide they are being governed badly, to replace those who govern them. In other words, society must be made a partner in its own right. The main difficulty we come up against today is the system of appointing the leadership team. It seems to me that this can be done only under conditions of parliamentary democracy. As it happens, Poland does have a tradition of parliamentary democracy. Even the alleged anarchy, the social and political irresponsibility, which is sometimes emphasized with such insistence in various assessments of Poland's 20-year interwar period, is not borne out by historical facts. Look how much was accomplished in that short period! This is why I believe that Poland—a country of quite decently educated and intelligent people—is perfectly capable of producing leadership teams which will govern the country wisely and soundly.

[Wozniak] What keeps you awake nights at the moment?

[Wilczek] I am determined to remain an optimist, and that is how I look at life. I believe that we do not face any excessive dangers today. The world is evolving along sensible lines, and we are a part of the world. The fact that we can confidently expect lasting peace in Europe, arms limitation, and the elimination of civilizational absurdities

such as the ecological threat is a positive development. The world is shrinking; we have increasingly sophisticated communications systems, such as satellite television. All these are optimistic indications for the future.

[Wozniak] But the fact that the world is shrinking encourages comparisons with other countries, of which you were so critical. A car is still a major luxury.

[Wilczek] So it is. But let us wait some 3-4 years. As soon as we start manufacturing at the rate of 600,000 cars per year, the motoring market will become normal.

[Wozniak] How many monthly pay packets will it take to buy a car then?

[Wilczek] Assuming that we can reduce inflation, it is realistic to expect that we will be able to restore the installment purchase system and thus encourage people earning, I should say, twice the national average wage to decide to take advantage of that form of purchase. Naturally, not everyone will be able to afford it, but it is like that everywhere in the world. Normalization also means a used car market, and these cars will be cheaper. But there is only one recipe for all this: to keep manufacturing many relatively cheap cars not of the super luxury class but incorporating modern design and performance specifications. The car I have chosen [for mass production on foreign licenseS] seems to have all these features.

[Wozniak] A popular car and the liquidation of a shipyard... Which of your decisions have been the hardest to make?

[Wilczek] That to become a minister. The others were all direct consequences of that. It is an office for strong individuals, not for the weak or those who have doubts.

[Wozniak] When you talked with the pope in the Vatican, did you request his intercession for the sake of our economy?

[Wilczek] I am an agnostic who believes in himself. But I appreciate the powerful role of the church and I believe it will remain a positive one—for example, in restoring the work ethic. Because we must ultimately help ourselves. After all, human experience demonstrates that God is on the side of the stronger battalions.

[Wozniak] Thank you for talking to me.

Central Committee Politburo Meets 7 Mar

LD0803220189 Warsaw PAP in English
2058 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 8—The PUWP CC Political Bureau met here on March 7 to assess the social-political situation in Poland, discuss the course of the roundtable talks, and the effects of work on drafting a new electoral law (for parliamentary elections). The bureau once again confirmed the will to reach agreement for the benefit of the nation and for a smooth development of people's Poland.

The discussion had strong references to the decisions of the 10th Central Committee's plenary meeting which are the axis of party work. By adopting them the party has opened a new chapter in its service to the nation, to working people.

Party and trade union organisations, as well as worker self-managements, should act together forming a social movement of protest against sky-high prices and, especially, to prevent price race in their own enterprises, the bureau said. This will be a very concrete support for the national economic consolidation programme. This also applies to countering the economically unjustified pay increases.

The bureau drew attention to international aspects of the changes which take place in Poland. They should, the bureau stressed, increase the confidence in Poland as a credible partner in dialogue and cooperation which contributes constructive input in the development of European and world situation.

The foundation of the Polish reason of state is the unshakeable alliance with the Soviet Union, the countries of socialist community. The convergence and mutual support for changes in Poland and the Soviet Union is of particular value today.

The bureau stressed the role of the declaration on Polish-Soviet cooperation in ideology, science, and culture, signed in April, 1987, by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev.

The work of the mixed commission to clarify the most sensitive problems is continued. But it cannot be carried on under the pressure of fanned emotions. The subject of the blank spots should not be used for anti-Soviet purposes hitting at the fundamental interests of friendship and cooperation between our states and nations.

The Political Bureau stressed that the Poles are watching the Soviet perestroyka with great interest and positive feelings.

The Political Bureau got acquainted with the course of the reporting campaign in the party.

The conference participants frequently referred to the roundtable talks. Compromise that Poland needs so badly can be reached on condition of responsibility and restraint on the part of all participants in dialogue. It is also necessary to firmly counteract attempts at destabilization of public order and at violations of the law.

The Political Bureau looked at ways and means of materialization of the 10th plenum's decisions concerning elimination of the remnants of Stalinism, and in particular the need of political and moral compensation for victims of lawlessness. Wrongs sustained by citizens in the Stalinist era should be elucidated to the fullest.

The discussants also deemed it necessary to make a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of postulates concerning the activity of Boleslaw Beirut and the symbols of his cult.

The Political Bureau resolved to appoint a drafting commission for a stand assessing the sources and aftermath of the Stalinist period in Poland. This cannot be tantamout to negating or belittling genuine accomplishments of people's Poland nor undermining the sense of contribution of millions of people to the shaping of new reality.

Kabasiewicz Views Warsaw Party Work, Membership
AU0203172589 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Feb 89 p 8

[Statement by Janusz Kubasiewicz, PZPR Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, to ZYCIE WARSZAWY during the Warsaw PZPR Committee report-back conference on 26 February: "Constructive Dissatisfaction"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Let me say a few words about the Warsaw party committee and our work style. It is no exaggeration to say that we are possessed by a feeling of constructive dissatisfaction. There has been a lot of talk in the party about experiments and about making our work more open to society. We in Warsaw do not talk about experiments, because we are already undertaking practical activity that confirms that our work is open to society. A tangible example was the last Warsaw PZPR Committee plenum, devoted to foreign trade and pro-export production. It was prepared entirely by a social committee.

Our executive committee takes advantages of the opinions and written materials of experts in all spheres of life, and not just party members. The Warsaw PZPR Committee consists of many people with great scientific, artistic, and professional achievements. This is an intellectual potential which permits the solving of many problems.

There is one more significant fact. Over 6,000 people in Warsaw Voivodship have joined the party over the past 2 years. Most of them are young people. That pleases us, but also encourages us to act, to be open to views, and to create a platform of activity that young people will find attractive.

Barcikowski Addresses PZPR Session in Poznan
LD0403001289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] There is a long period of dialogue, polemics, struggles, and political struggle in front of us, and one has to be prepared to lead in the conditions of the existence of an opposition which will act as a severe judge. Kazimierz Barcikowski spoke about this during the PZPR Voivodship report-back conference in Poznan, referring to the problems taken up in the discussion. In economic policy, Kazimierz Barcikowski said further, the party is in favor of a permanent trisector economy and it is not, as one hears sometimes, an antiworker policy. Today [word indistinct] a worker complains that there are no goods on the market and it is not important for him whether it is a state, social, or private product. He wants to buy it. The old slogan that one's own affairs should be dealt with by one's own hands, Kazimierz Barcikowski stressed, will find not only its legal but also its actual expression. That is why we will continue the initiated process of decentralization.

Olechowski Meets Arms Conference Participants
LD2602014689 Warsaw PAP in English 2004 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 25—Intellectuals from NATO, Warsaw Treaty, and neutral states took part in a scientific conference on "conventional stability and the Polish plan to reduce armaments and increase confidence in Central Europe," organized here February 24-25.

The conference was attended by about 50 scholars and experts from the main research centres in Austria, the FRG, France, Italy, Sweden, Poland, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Romania, and Hungary.

The conference analysed the planned new military confidence-building measures, and pointed to reciprocal links between nuclear and conventional disarmament. Much time was devoted to the necessity to reshape military doctrines by giving them a defensive character. A point of reference for many speakers was the Jaruzelski Plan, and the discussion helped to enrich its essence.

The conference is a creative part of the preparations for new negotiations on military aspects of European Security which start in Vienna on March 6, this year, with participating representatives of CSCE states.

Participants in the conference met with Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski. The conference was organised by the Polish Institute of International Affairs.

Olechowski Issues Statement on CSCE Talks

LD0803213989 Warsaw PAP in English
2047 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 8—Poland's Foreign Affairs Minister Tadeusz Olechowski made a statement for PAP which reads in part: I am returning from Vienna where the foreign affairs ministers of European and North American states held debates for the last three days. We jointly initiated a new mechanism of disarmament dialogue in Europe, or great significance for the security and stability of the continent.

The ministerial debate confirmed that the negotiations of 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO states on conventional armed forces and of 35 states on confidence building measures should be accompanied by a favourable climate.

The outlines of future stances of the negotiating sides surfaced in the speeches. Both the East and the West presented different programs of reducing armed forces and strengthening security. The differences are significant but not as divergent as to rule out a rapprochement of stances. We noticed with satisfaction, for instance, that our ideas contained in the Jaruzelski Plan and concerning the reduction of the capacity of a sudden attack and removal of the most destructive and dangerous weapons from the centre of the continent were generally accepted.

The initiative of Poland and the FRG to convene a representative seminar of diplomats, politicians, scientists and military men on military doctrines and endowing them with an unequivocally defensive character met with interest.

All in all we have made a good start. We have given the negotiations political impetus. We are interested in their effective course and in bringing about the first agreements soon.

Poland, while actively participating in the realization of a joint disarmament platform of our alliance will present military-political thinking contained in the Jaruzelski Plan, will make sure the military characteristics of Central Europe is taken into account, aim to engulf both whole alliances and all its members with disarmament undertakings, Olechowski said.

Referring to his talks with the foreign ministers of Austria, Finland, Spain, the FRG and the U.S. in Vienna, Olechowski stated that they discussed the future of the all-European process and disarmament.

We agreed that these processes bear a positive impact on the development of the international siutation, on the deepening of confidence and cooperation in Europe, and on overcoming the divisions of our continent. All the discussants took keen interest in the transformations taking place in Poland, particularly the roundtable debates. They expressed respect for the reforms being implemented by us and for the efforts to overcome the crisis. They stressed their broader, international scope. I did not conceal before my interlocutors that we expect active engagement on the part of our partners into economic, financial and technical cooperation with Poland. Only such a stand on their part can boost our exports and payments capacities which all our creditors should be interested in. The stance of the West on precisely this issue is at present a test of the credibility of their assurances about sympathy for our country, the Polish foreign minister pointed out.

Report on Resolutions Published

LD0203220889 Warsaw PAP in English
2034 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 2—A two-volume collection "Poland and the Implementation of the CSCE Resolutions," prepared by the Polish Institute of International Affairs, appeared in Poland. Apart from a report on implementing the CSCE resolutions, the collection brings the interpretation of principles and recommendations adopted in the process of security and cooperation in Europe started in Helsinki.

The first part "Between Helsinki and Vienna" carries a number of documents and data on Polish foreign policy, offered to Polish reader for the first time.

The second part is entirely devoted to the Vienna meeting of representatives of the states-participants in the CSCE that ended last January. The volume carries the full text of the final document of the Vienna meeting together with all annexes, including the mandates of the two new negotiating planes starting March 6: on conventional armed forces in Europe (with the participation of the 23 NATO and Warsaw Treaty states) and on military measures of building confidence and security with the participation of the 35 CSCE states.

General Staff Academy To Undergo Restructuring

LD0803232289 Warsaw PAP in English
2210 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 8—Participants in the PUMP report conference held today at the Academy of the General Staff of the Polish Army here expressed their support for the socialist renewal and implementation of tasks set by the 10th PUWP CC Plenum.

Chief of General Staff General Jozef Uzycki emphasized the commitment of the scientific staff of the academy to the work on Polish national military doctrine. He stressed that the defensive character of this doctrine allows for reduction of the military potential only to the reasonably sufficient level. The restructuring will embrace also the Academy of the General Staff which is to be transformed into the Academy of National Defence.

Jaruzelski Pays Surprise Visit to Womens Center
LD0803222189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Our studio guest today is a woman, of course, and she is the chair of the Polish Women's League, Elzbieta (?Lecznarowicz). [passage omitted] Please accept these modest flowers from the male contingent of the television news team.

[(Lecznarowicz)] Thank you very much, but I have to tell you that you are not the first, because today our organization was visited by Comrade General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

[Announcer] I know. Our cameras were there. Let us take a look.

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] We deemed it appropriate to visit the seat of the Polish Women's League to express thus, somewhat symbolically, our respect for Polish women, who have made a fine contribution to Polish history and who today bear equally the burden and the sorrows, but also the joy of everyday life. Please accept our best wishes, our sincerest greetings, which we would thus like to convey, along with a mutual hope that tomorrow will be better. Perhaps this visit to an office of this kind, although this is not an office in the usual sense of the word, has had a somewhat a typical beginning, so to speak, but we believe that the role of the Polish Women's League is so important as to be given appropriate expression. I am sorry if it appears like an invasion of sorts—arriving unannounced—but I believe that this should also be viewed as a special way of recognizing and appreciating the role Polish women play in the life of the nation. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Rakowski Meets Womens' Minister Kedzierska
LD0803220289 Warsaw PAP in English 1605 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 8—Chairman of the Council of Ministers Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski today received government plenipotentiary for women's affairs Minister Anna Kedzierska.

During the meeting devoted to the plenipotentiary's activities, the interlocutors talked about the social and professional promotion of women as well as their problems stemming from hardships of everyday life and their special responsibility for the family.

Rakowski Visits Cardiovascular Clinic in Anin
LD0803220489 Warsaw PAP in English 1629 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 8—Chairman of the Council of Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski visited today the Institute of Cardiology in Anin near here. He saw clinical facilities and acquainted himself with the state of supply in medical equipment and with the conditions of physicians' work and medical treatment of patients.

The premier met with the cadre of the institute which plays a coordinating role for all the cardiological centres in Poland. The participants in the meeting discussed prospects and problems of treatment of heart and cardiovascular diseases.

Rakowski Appoints New Officials in Sieradz
AU2802173089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Feb 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Chronicle of Cadre Changes"]

[Text] On the recommendation of the minister of agriculture, forestry, and food industry, the chairman of the Council of Ministers appointed Henryk Antosiak undersecretary of state in this ministry, and at the same time released him from the post of voivoda of Sieradz. On the recommendation of the voivodship people's council of Sieradz, the chairman of the Council of Ministers appointed Jozef Szewczyk voivoda of Sieradz.

Henryk Antosiak was born in 1946 in Topola Szlachecka, to a peasant family. He studied at the Higher School of Agriculture in Olsztyn, where he gained a diploma in agricultural science. He commenced his working life in 1968 as a shift supervisor at the Sulecin District People's Council. From 1969 to 1971 he was deputy manager of the state farm in Ostrowe. From 1971 to 1973 he was director of the state farm in Strojec. Between 1973 and 1976, he worked for the state administration, occupying the following posts in succession: deputy chairman of the Sulecin District People's Council; deputy chief executive officer of Sulecin District; and deputy director of the Sieradz Voivodship Office. From 1976 to 1986 he was chairman of the peasants' self-help cooperative in Sieradz. In 1986 he became voivoda of Sieradz. He belongs to the ZSL chief auditing committee. He is deputy chairman of the Sieradz Voivodship Council and a member of the PRON National Council. He is married, and has a son and daughter.

Jozef Szewczyk is 52 years old. He was born in Czastary, to a peasant family. He holds a degree in administration. He commenced his working life in 1983 as a financial officer at the refurbishing enterprise in Opole. From 1956 to 1967 he worked for the peasants self-help cooperative in Czastary as bookkeeper, then vice chairman, and then chairman. From 1967 to 1971 he was deputy chairman of the Union of Peasant Cooperatives in Wieruszow. In 1971 he became deputy chairman of the Wieruszow District People's Council, and in 1973 he became deputy chief executive officer of Wieruszow. Between 1975 and 1978 he did a correspondence course at Lodz University, at the same time as which he was deputy chairman for agricultural affairs at the Sieradz Voivodship Union of Rural Cooperatives. Between 1976 and 1989 he was chairman of

the Sieradz Voivodship ZSL Committee. He has been deputy chairman of the Sieradz Voivodship People's Council for the last three terms of office. He belongs to the ZSL Supreme Committee.

He is married, with a daughter and a son.

Olechowski Views Territorial Dispute With GDR

AU0203124489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25-26 Feb 89 p 4

[Report by Ryszard Drecki and Jadwiga Mikolajczyk: "A Reply Concerning the Demarcation of the Border in the Pomeranian Bay"]

[Text] Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski spoke at the end of the 24 February Sejm session. Replying to a question from the Szczecin Voivodship deputies group, he said: I wish to assure you on behalf of the government that your views on the demarcation of the border in the Pomeranian bay have been heard. However, I must say openly that reporting on this issue does not depend entirely on us, for we have to obey the international practice of not presenting information about the subject-matter of negotiations without our partner's approval. I must make it clear that this does not clash with the principle of openness at all, but conforms to the protocol that governs proper relations between countries.

There have been no incidents in the Pomeranian Bay for some time now. Movements of Polish and foreign vessels into and out of the ports of Szczecin and Swinoujscie are normal. These vessels are using the traditional access channels without any difficulties. This is the result of an agreement between Poland and the GDR whereby vessels in that part of the Pomeranian Gulf that is the subject of the negotiations enjoy the same freedom of passage as they did before both countries extended their territorial waters. Therefore, Poland is suffering no material losses because of the continuing talks on a demarcation of waters.

The problem of demarcation arose as a result of the changes in international maritime law, which permit countries to extend their territorial waters up to 12 miles. By extending its territorial waters in the Pomeranian Gulf, the GDR attempted to unilaterally impose a new maritime border with Poland along the continental shelf. That would have meant that the deep-water access channel to the ports of Szczecin and Swinoujscie would be within GDR territorial waters. Obviously we cannot accept that, said T. Olechowski. Poland received the ports of Szczecin and Swinoujscie under the terms of the Potsdam Treaty as full maritime ports, in other words ports that enjoy sovereign and unrestricted access to the open sea. Therefore we have rejected the unilateral GDR decisions, and have said so in official documents.

In 1985, Poland and the GDR renewed talks on demarcating the border in the Pomeranian Bay in such a way that the demarcation conforms to international maritime law and the interests of both states. As a result, there has been a consensus so far. The main interests of each country were clearly defined, and each country expressed its readiness to respect the interests of the other country. It will take a lot of time and negotiations to draft an appropriate agreement that will resolve all the issues connected with demarcating the border along the continental shelf, as well as in fishing areas. Therefore, what is needed is patience, a high degree of responsibility, and an emotion-free atmosphere that is conducive to the negotiations. I wish to say, concluded Minister Olechowski, that our partner is a friendly allied state that is just as interested in perpetuating the postwar territorial-political order in Europe, including the inviolability of the border along the Odra and Nysa rivers, as Poland is.

CSSR's Stepan Arrives on Official Visit

LD0803234989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] [Announcer] A CPCZ committee delegation led by Miroslav Stepan, member of the Presidium of the party's Central Committee and leading secretary of the party organization in Prague, today began a 2-day official visit to Warsaw. The CTK Warsaw correspondent, Jiri Vazko, reports:

[Vazko] Shortly after arrival, Comrade Stepan met with Janusz Kubasiewicz, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Warsaw party committee. The representatives exchanged information in the fulfillment of the conclusion of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the 10th PZPR Congress and also experiences in restructuring in Czechoslovakia and Poland. They pointed out an identity or closeness of views on a whole number of problems which the two sister cities are solving. In connection with this, they exchanged both good and bad experiences in housing construction, for example, from the construction of the metro to supplying inhabitants. They also informed each other about programs to comprehensively develop both cities up to the year 2000.

The other members of the delegation today visited some Warsaw factories and institutions. In the afternoon, the Czechoslovak guests headed by Miroslav Stepan met in the historic museum of the Polish capital with representatives of Polish artistic and creative unions, Warsaw artists, and cultural workers. They exchanged views on current problems and tasks of socialist culture and artistic creation.

Militia Deputy Chief Comments on Crime

AU2302165989 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with General of Brigade Zbigniew Nowicki, deputy commander of the Citizen's Militia, by Maciej Urbaniak: "Better, But Still Not Good"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Urbaniak] The number of reported crimes fell last year, did it not?

[Nowicki] Yes. There were over 33,000 less than in 1987. Altogether, there 457,273 offenses were committed. As a result, the so-called criminal coefficient of society, measured in the number of crimes per 100,000 people, fell from 1,350 to 1,255.

[Urbaniak] Does that mean that the situation is good?

[Nowicki] Of course not. This decrease does not apply to all types of crime to an equal extent. We have noted a clear and very disturbing increase in some types of crime, for example crimes against property.

[Urbaniak] Although I do not want figures to dominate this interview, could you please give a few figures, at least basic ones? Otherwise it is difficult to discuss trends and forecasts.

[Nowicki] Some 344,658 offenses were criminal ones, 3.8 percent less than in 1987. There were less crimes against people. The number of crimes against public officials fell as much as 37 percent. There were 22 percent less assaults and batteries, 10 percent less cases of grievous bodily harm, and 8 percent less robberies. There were 10.7 percent more cases of breaking and entering into private property. In absolute terms, this looks quite shocking, for there were as many as 103,729 crimes like this last year. If one adds to this the 79,123 other thefts of private property, the 38,000-plus burglaries in state buildings, and 7,500 robberies, it transpires that almost half of all crime in Poland was directed against property. In 1976, the proportion was only 34 percent.

[Urbaniak] That is an enormous increase. What are the causes?

[Nowicki] This is a trend not only in Poland, but all over the world. Perhaps one can explain it by society's increasing prosperity and stratification. However, that is only one side of the coin.

My grandfather used to say: "Tough luck to he who does not look after his own property." That is other side of the coin. Most of our society's members are completely, totally careless about their property, and very frequently it is property for which one has had to work one's entire life. As we know, opportunity makes the thief, and there is no shortage of opportunities.

Let us consider the spate of thefts of property from cars, for example. We keep on saying that one must not leave valuable property exposed in a car, but not many people seem to remember that. Thefts of radios, tape recorders, fur coats, and so on have become so commonplace that a replacement window has become one of the most sought-after commodities. A television camera was recently stolen from a journalist's private car parked in front of the television studios.

Cars also disappear. Only every 10th car has some sort of security device, if only a primitive one. I investigated 20 cars parked on Sniegocka Street in Warsaw, each one worth Z50 million. Guess how many were insured. Only two. [passage omitted]

[Urbaniak] Even so, our citizens feel relatively safe in Poland. At least that is the result of an opinion poll.

[Nowicki] They are entitled to. In France, there are 6,714 crimes per 100,000 people. There were 3.5 million crimes there.

Militia Chief Meets Silesian Mine Workers

AU2702154089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Feb 89 p 2

[PAP report: "If Someone Walks a Hundred Meters and Shouts Something, Socialism Is Not Going To Collapse: Citizen' Militia Commander in Chief Meets Jastrzebie Miners"]

[Text] Katowice. The meeting on 21 February between Zenon Trzcinski, commander in chief of the Citizens Militia, and employees of the "Manifest Lipcowy" coal mine in Jastrzebie Zdroj lasted over 1 hour. Z. Trzcinski said that being the "the country's chief militia officer" it is his job to deal with the maintenance of order in public places, to combat crime, and to eliminate the factors that give rise to crime.

The militia commander in chief said that there had been a decline in the number of murders, assaults, and instances of bodily injury. Unfortunately, however, crimes against property are on the increase, and there has been a renewed increase in so-called professional crime. Although crime detection rates are as good as or better than in other countries, the militia is going to intensify its efforts. However, the militia needs public support and there should be more public concern for property.

Replying to numerous questions, he said that according to the letter of the law, not one of the strikes that had taken place since 1982—irrespective of who the organizers of a strike may have been—had been legal. Strikes are an internal work place matter. However, the militia is interested in them for two reasons. First the militia may at any time receive a request for assistance and action aimed at maintaining law and order and second, a strike may extend beyond the factory walls and pose a threat to public order.

Z. Trzcinski said: "The situation regarding demonstrations is extremely unusual. Local authorities are reluctant to issue permits for their organization. They must change their views in this respect and begin to behave in what is the generally accepted way in other countries. We are in favor of making certain demonstrations legal. If someone walks a 100 meters and shouts something, socialism is not going to collapse. However, what it does

mean is that a person organizing a demonstration will be known to the authorities as his signature will appear on the application for a permit, and should public order be disrupted in some way, it will be possible to file charges."

In reply to one of the questions asked, Z. Trzcinski stressed that the militia officer should not be a symbol in a political battle. He said: "Political battles should take place within parties, within political organizations, but when a certain boundary is overstepped, the militia should launch actions of a more offensive character than is the case today. I am of the opinion that action of a political character should be countered with political action, by the use of political means.

"Trade unions should defend the employee, but if the latter has flagrantly violated labor regulations, they should not do so. If a smoker causes a fire in a boiler room and this results in damage, why should the militia take action against him instead of the employer. There is no reason why an employer should not be able to seek compensation for losses from the person who violated regulations. The use of the criminal code and imprisonment are not the only means of eradicating social wrongdoing and allaying public frustration."

Asked what he thinks about reducing the number of members of the Motorized Reserve of the Citizens' Militia and increasing the number of patrolmen, which would be necessary in order to step up crime prevention, the commander in chief of the Citizens' Militia said that they perform different functions. The Motorized Reserve of the Citizens' Militia, like the carabiniere in Italy and the gendarme in France, are specialized units that are used in situations in which there is a need for a greater number of functionaries in, for example, tracking down criminals, when catastrophes or natural disasters occur, and when there are mass violations of the law. In addition, these units are provided with technical equipment that it would be difficult to supply to every patrolman. However, it would be desirable to bring neighborhood militia personnel levels up to full strength, but the work is difficult and thankless, and there is a shortage of candidates.

Speaking about other problems in militia work, Z. Trzcinski said that the general principle is to instruct and not to punish, and to apply preventative measures. However, orders are only effective as long as militia officers are not exposed to personal danger. Direct coercion is only used when there is no other option.

Customs Official Warns Against Food Smuggling

LD0603220489 Warsaw PAP in English
1900 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 6—"Of late, over 3 thousand Poles who wanted to take excessive amounts of food away from Poland were returned mainly from the western border crossings," said spokesman for the main customs office GUC Zygmunt Janczyk.

Janczyk stated that the detailed list of the foodstuffs withheld is very long. On seeing a very strict customs contol, some of the passengers of the trains going via West Berlin disposed of the excessive amounts of food by throwing it into the carriage WC's or straight onto the platform of the railway station in Rzepin.

A record of a kind was scored by one of the tourists in whose car customs officers found a whole piglet and a goat which were to be portioned and sold in a West Berlin bazaar.

At the same time the passports of some 100 Polish citizens returning from West Berlin carried stamps of that town's services prohibiting entry to West Berlin.

Taking food away from Poland is not prohibited provided it is meant for consumption while travelling. Taking away bigger amounts of food is permissible after paying 300 per cent customs duty.

"We will fight this negative phenomenon until it vanishes completely," the spokesman warned.

Reassessment of Former President Proposed

LD0603220189 Warsaw PAP in English
1826 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Lublin, Mar 6—A voivodship (provincial) deputy team in Lublin has asked Polish parliament (Sejm) Presidium to appoint an extraordinary committee to re-assess the activities of Boleslaw Bierut, 1892-1956, Polish president in 1947-1952, prime minister 1952-54, and Communist Party leader 1948-1956.

Local deputies say there is no comprehensive historical knowledge or official evaluations on the subject so far and, at the same time, they suggest to consider the possibility of re-naming the streets, squares, living quarters, and factories named after Bierut.

"We motion, on behalf of the voivodship deputy team, for the appointment of an extraordinary deputy committee that would—free of emotions but using historical facts and hitherto silent archives—produce an in-depth, politically realistic and just evaluation of Boleslaw Bierut's activity," the team's resolution reads.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 22-28 Feb

AU0303181389

[Editorial Report] The Polish press monitored from 23 February to 1 March reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Florian Siwicki attended the report-back conference of the Pomeranian Military District on 27 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Feb 89 p 1)

Stanislaw Ciosek and Kazimierz Cypryniak laid flowers at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Warsaw on 23 February, Soviet Army Day. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Feb 89 p 2)

Zygmunt Czarzasty and Jozef Czyrek laid a wreath at the Soviet Military Cemetery in Warsaw on 23 February, Soviet Army Day. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Feb 89 p 2)

Janusz Kubasiewicz and Marian Orzechowski attended the report-back conference of the Warsaw PZPR Committee on 26 February. (Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Feb 89 p 8)

Wladyslaw Baka and Zbigniew Michalek attended the Czestochowa Voivodship PZPR Committee report-back conference on 23 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Feb 89 p 2)

Iwona Lubowska and Marian Stepien attended the report-back conference of the Bielsko-Biala Voivodship PZPR Committee on 26 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Feb 89 p 1)

Wojciech Jaruzelski, State Council chairman, received Ryszard Fijalkowski, new Polish ambassador to France, on 22 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Feb 89 p 2)

Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski attended a meeting of the PZPR Deputies Club on 23 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Feb 89 p 2)

Wladyslaw Baka, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended 70th anniversary celebrations of the Polish Red Cross on 22 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Feb 89 p 2)

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and State Council deputy chairman, received Tadeusz Wujek, new Polish ambassador to Ethiopia, on 27 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Feb 89 p 2)

Stanislaw Ciosek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received Hungarian Foreign Minister Istvan Horvath on 24 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25-26 Feb 89 p 2)

Kazimierz Cypryniak, Politburo member, attended the report-back conference of the Szczecin Voivodship PZPR Committee on 24 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25-26 Feb 89 p 2) He attended the report-back conference of the Zamosc Voivodship PZPR Committee on 27 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Feb 89 p 2)

Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met with students of a postgraduate journalism training center on 23 February and discussed international politics with them. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Feb 89 p 2) He attended the report-back conference of the Piotrkow Voivodship PZPR Committee on 27 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Feb 89 p 2) He received members of the new Society for Political Thought in Warsaw on 28 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Mar 89 p 2)

Manfred Gorywoda, Politburo member, attended the report-back conference of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee on 26 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Feb 89 p 2)

Iwona Lubowska, Politburo member, met with party aktivs of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, (WORKERS TRIBUNE), on 23 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Feb 89 p 2)

Zbigniew Michalek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended the report-back conference of the Kalisz Voivodship PZPR Committee on 27 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Feb 89 p 2)

Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended a report-back conference of the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences on 22 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Feb 89 p 2) He met with Foreign Ministry employees on 23 February, in order to discuss PZPR political strategy. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Feb 89 p 2) He attended the report-back conference of the Legnica Voivodship PZPR Committee on 24 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25-26 Feb 89 p 2)

Zygmunt Czarzasty, Central Committee secretary, received GDR ambassador Juergen van Zwoll on 22 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Feb 89 p 2) He attended the report-back conference of the Konin Voivodship PZPR Committee on 24 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25-26 Feb 89 p 2) He attended the report-back conference of the Chelm Voivodship PZPR Committee on 26 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Feb 89 p 2)

Leszek Miller, Central Committee secretary, visited Warsaw University as a guest of the students and answered questions from them on the subject of student affairs on 22 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Feb 89 p 2) He attended an ideological conference at the Chief Territorial Defense Inspectorate in Warsaw on 22 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Feb 89 p 2) He attended the report-back conference of the Skierniewice Voivodship PZPR Committee on 24 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25-26 Feb 89 p 2) He attended the report-back conference of the Gorzow Voivodship PZPR Committee on 27 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Feb 89 p 2)

Marian Stepien, Central Committee secretary, received Jerzy Wadowski, chairman of the Association of Polish Authors, on 22 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Feb 89 p 2) He met with the artistic community of Bielsko-Biala on 24 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25-26 Feb 89 p 2) He attended the report-back conference of the Nowy Sacz Voivodship PZPR Committee on 27 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Feb 89 p 2)

Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski received new Hungarian ambassador Istvan Roska on 22 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Feb 89 p 2)

Commentary Previews Vienna Disarmament Talks

AU0903103689 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Mar 89 p 4

[Dumitru Tinu 'Correspondence from Vienna': "Under the Sign of Responsibility for Security and Peace in Europe"]

[Text] It has always been difficult for great truths to work their way through the international situation. This is what happened in the case of Europe. Almost 15 years had to pass following the 1975 Helsinki Conference for peoples to unanimously recognize that European security cannot be truly built while tremendous weapons and troops are still concentrated on this continent, and that European peoples will feel genuinely secure only if effective disarmament measures are adopted.

For Romania, the negotiations that are to begin in Vienna will be an unquestionable confirmation of the correctness of the principled position it has held from the very beginning, that is, as early as the preparations for the first all-European conference. Romania has played a well-known role in affirming the desire to see that the decisions adopted with a view to establishing new principles of relations and developing cooperation in the most varied areas are coupled with the states' pledge to work to create conditions for moving to disarmament in Europe. It was due to our country's efforts and perseverance that the Helsinki Final Act included a specific chapter on "the military dimension of European security," even if at the beginning the measures and commitments stipulated aimed only at increasing trust among states. The important thing was that, in the final analysis, disarmament was accepted as a major aim of the process of building security on the continent.

The road up to the actual beginning of the Vienna negotiations was not simple by any means. It was necessary to overcome serious reticence and even overt opposition by some countries toward the idea of tackling disarmament in Europe within a multilateral framework—as Romania constantly held—with the participation of all states on this continent. By virtue of an anachronistic way of thinking, it was believed and held that the problems of disarmament belong to the exclusive sphere of competence of the big powers, while ignoring the fact that all these kinds of troops amassed on our continent concern all states and peoples in this geographical area, because they constitute a frightful threat for all of Europe, and no one has the right to decide over the life and death of whole nations.

This is why the current meeting of foreign ministers of European states, the United States, and Canada, and the negotiations that will follow afterward are undoubtedly going down as an important event in Europe's political activity. For the first time, all member states of the two military alliances—NATO and the Warsaw Pact—will be rallied here in the heart of Europe around the same table, as independent and sovereign states, to discuss troops and conventional arms reduction on the continent.

In a hall adjacent to the Hofburg Palace, the representatives of all 35 states signatories to the Helsinki Final Act will discuss, in a parallel manner, new measures aimed at strengthening confidence and security in Europe, thus completing and developing the measures adopted in this sense at the Stockholm conference. The hallway that links the two halls of negotiations now has a political significance. Although conceived of as distinct negotiations, an exchange of views and information will take place on their progress, and the participants in the discussions on the conventional forces reduction will take into consideration the viewpoints expressed by all the other European states.

Assessing the complex process of disarmament as a united process, Romania has advocated and consistently advocates that the measures to eliminate nuclear weapons in Europe—which pose the main danger for the security of peoples on this continent—be coupled with measures to substantially reduce troops and conventional weapons. Such actions are all the more pressing since such types of weapons are going through a process of intensive improvement and they incorporate one of the most modern scientific-technical achievements, thus bringing them close to nuclear weapons in terms of destructive potential. At the same time, it is known that in the wake of the conclusion of the Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles, NATO circles are persistently discussing the need for so-called "compensation" measures by modernizing intermediate-range nuclear missiles. In other words, by taking a roundabout way, they want to return to the situation before the signing of the treaty. "Modernization" also incorporates conventional weapons by invoking existing "asymmetries" within the two military blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The problem of asymmetries in one field or another, tilting toward one side or the other, will actually be the focus of the current negotiations in Vienna. The aim pursued is to eliminate existing disparities and achieve a secure balance for all states at the lowest possible level.

Romania's position in this respect, a position that was clearly defined by President Nicolae Ceausescu, is well known. In the past years, our country formulated a number of constructive proposals for conventional disarmament by specifying that the member states of the two military alliances should agree on successive cuts in their troops and weapons—entailing an appropriate cut in military expenditure—so that current levels will be reduced by at least 50 percent by the end of the century. As is well known, this stance of ours was followed by actual measures to the effect that, for several years in a row, measures were adopted to cut and then freeze military expenditure. The decision adopted in November 1986 at Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative, namely to move to a 5-10 percent

unilateral cut in weapons, troops, and military expenditure, enjoyed a broad response. In the same spirit, our country also advocates the deepening of confidence among European states, in the belief that progress in this direction will facilitate the achievement of results in the area of reducing troops and conventional weapons, and solve other disarmament problems which, in turn, would create conditions for strengthening confidence and security.

The willingness toward dialogue shown through the decision to begin the current Vienna negotiations on conventional forces and new measures for strengthening confidence and security, and the constructive atmosphere in which the foreign ministers' meeting has begun are assessed here as favorable preconditions to progress toward the achievement of substantial agreements that will reduce the risks of confrontation and lead to disarmament in Europe. This would undoubtedly match the expectations of the peoples on this continent and meet the interest in peace and the security of all peoples.

Review of PEC Meeting on Economic Issues

AU0703185189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Mar 89 p 1

["Meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee Under Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Chairmanship" held in Bucharest on 2 March]

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, chaired a meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee on Thursday, 2 March.

The PEC examined a report on the fulfillment of the plan for January and February and measures aimed at implementing the plan provisions for March and the first quarter of 1989.

In connection with this point on the agenda, the floor was taken by the prime minister and other members of the government who reported on the results achieved in the first 2 months of the current year and on action taken to fulfill all plan indicators for March and the first quarter of 1989.

On the basis of data supplied and conclusions drawn from the analysis made during the meeting, the PEC assessed that production growth rates in January and February had been higher than those achieved in the same period last year, and that almost all ministries had fulfilled or even overfulfilled their commodity production plan. Despite all this, serious shortfalls continued in certain areas and thus results were below existing possibilities. In connection with export production, the meeting assessed that, although on the whole a certain growth was noted compared with the same period last year, the plan provisions for the first 2 months of the this year have not been completely implemented.

Starting from this situation, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general, asked the government, the coordination councils for branches, the ministries, industrial centrals, and enterprises to concretely examine the reasons for the nonfulfillment of certain plan indicators and to work out firm measures to eliminate shortfalls without delay, to make up for all lags, and to completely fulfill the plan for March and the entire quarter. He specifically recommended that priority be given to the optimal fulfillment of export production.

The party secretary general drew attention to the need to continue to work with the greatest of responsibility and exactingness to improve the quality and the technical standard of products—a central question of all activities in industry—increase labor productivity to a great extent, perfect and modernize the production process, continue to reduce the consumption of energy, raw and other materials, strictly observe approved norms, make maximum use of machinery, equipment, and installations, and strengthen order and discipline in all areas.

The speaker recommended that all problems linked to the fulfillment of plan tasks—regarding all indicators—be discussed at length within the coordination councils for branches and that tangible and effective measures be adopted to ensure the proper progress of all activities and higher rates than those stipulated by plan thus matching the level of the potential of our national economy.

The PEC then discussed a report on the evolution of prices and tariffs in 1988. It was assessed that on the whole 1988 was characterized by a positive situation; prices and tariffs maintained their 1987 level and stayed below planned limits, a fact that once again highlights the viability and sound nature of our national economy. The speaker called for further action to perfect and enhance the role of the price system in the economy, to ensure a strict stability of all prices, and maintain them within planned limits.

The PEC examined and approved measures on commendably implementing the third stage of the increase in the working personnel's pay and pensions, which will take place between 1 March and 1 August 1989.

This vast social action—which began on 1 August 1988, at the initiative and proposal of RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu—is proceeding in accordance with the decisions of the 13th Congress and the National Conference of the RCP and with the provisions of the party program on further raising the living standard of the working people and the whole nation. It is a telling illustration of the profoundly humanistic party-state policy of constantly raising the incomes of the working people and the well-being of the whole nation. Between 1 August 1988 and 1 January 1989, the wages of all categories of working people with a basic monthly pay

of 1,500-2,250 lei were increased. Consequently, more than 4.4 million working people benefited from this increase, that is almost 60 percent of the entire working personnel in the economy.

As of 1 March, we proceeded to implement the third stage of increases, within the framework of which basic salaries of more than 2,250 lei will be gradually increased for various branches and activities. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu proposed—and the PEC approved—that the pay increase action should conclude 1 month sooner than envisaged, so that, as of 1 August 1989, the entire working personnel in the economy should benefit from higher wages. During this stage, more than 3.4 million working people will receive increased salaries.

As a result of this measure, at the end of the pay-increase action, the average pay will reach 3,300 lei, compared with 2,980 lei before the increases. Thus, in 1989 the working personnel will receive additional incomes worth 24.4 billion lei. In 1990, when all working people will benefit from the increased remuneration, the yearly additional income will amount to 29 billion lei.

Likewise, as of 1 January 1989, the quota for the working people's participation in the profit sharing fund will increase from 2.5-3 percent to 3-3.5 percent throughout the economy.

As of 1 March 1989, work and old age state social insurance pensions between 1,501-3,000 lei per month will be gradually increased, an action which is also scheduled to conclude 1 month ahead of time. Almost 1.4 million pensioners will benefit from this pension increase; the average monthly old age pension for full length of service will reach 2,000 lei.

In order to implement the measures endorsed, the ministries, other central bodies, the industrial central departments, and the enterprises will see to it that all necessary steps are taken in time, in order to strictly apply all legal provisions on gradually increasing remuneration and entirely fulfilling the programs designed to guarantee the necessary funds for these increases.

The PEC then discussed a report on preparing and commendably carrying out the spring agricultural campaign.

The figures contained in the report show that, thanks to the measures taken, all crops were assigned to the respective units and farms and overhaul and repair work has been finished on all categories of equipment required for the spring campaign. Likewise, we ensured the necessary seeds for all areas designed for sowing operations.

Proceeding from the given situation, the PEC asked the Ministry of Agriculture, the county party committees and people's councils, the joint agroindustrial councils, and all agricultural units to mobilize all technical and human forces in villages so that they carry out, on schedule and at an appropriate qualitative level, the sowing operations on all stipulated lands. These bodies should constantly check the progress of the entire range of agricultural operations, so as to obtain increasingly better crops this year, in accordance with plan provisions and with the targets of the new agrarian revolution.

The PEC then examined a report on the results of the livestock census for 1988, as well as a program of measures to raise the planned number of livestock and animal products in the 1989-91 period. The Ministry of Agriculture, county agricultural bodies, socialist agricultural units, people's councils, and specialized bodies were asked to work with great determination and responsibility to achieve the planned number of all animal breeds and products, to increase the reproduction indicator and improve breeds, and to ensure appropriate foraging conditions and proper care and stables for animals. It was established that, on the basis of the program adopted, the evolution of livestock must be pursued constantly and that the plan tasks in the animal breeding sector must be fulfilled under the best of conditions in each county, each commune, and in each agricultural unit. It was also recommended that the norms on the slaughtering regime and on the optimal slaughtering weight of animals be strictly observed, so that all meat quantities stipulated by the self-sufficiency programs will be achieved.

The PEC examined a number measures regarding the rational utilization of water and the conservation of its quality. Within this framework, the party secretary general recommended that a comprehensive program be worked out incorporating tangible measures aimed at judiciously using all water resources, eliminating loss, waste, and water pollution, exploiting and capitalizing on it in accordance with existing norms and the law in force, and at the responsible use and administration of water as an intrinsic part of the national economy and as a vital asset of all our people.

The PEC discussed and endorsed the proposals regarding the management of semi-precious natural stones. It was established that semi-precious natural stones derived from the processing of extracted mineral substances should belong to the national treasury.

The PEC also examined and endorsed the proposals on the exploitation and allocation for consumption of blocks of marble, multi-color limestone, travertine, and granite, and established measures for their rational use.

The PEC examined a report on the evolution of the demographic phenomena in 1988. Examining the data of the report, the PEC asked the Higher Health Council, the Ministry of Health, and medical directorates to ensure the improvement of the activity in this area in order to implement our party's and state's demographic policy. In this sense, it was recommended that firm and responsible action be taken to increase the birth rate and the natural growth of the population, to protect and

strengthen the family, improve medical care in accordance with the conditions created by our socialist society, and to preserve and further improve the health condition of all citizens in our homeland in order to preserve the vigor and youth of the whole nation.

The PEC discussed and endorsed the plan of measures regarding the celebration of May Day, the 50th anniversary of the big anti-war, antifascist, and patriotic demonstration of 1 May 1939, and the 100th anniversary of the proclamation of May Day as the day of the international solidarity of the working people. It was established that these important events be marked throughout our country by extensive political-ideological, educational, and cultural-artistic events which should recall the rich revolutionary traditions of our people and the heroic struggle waged by the RCP against exploitation and oppression, war and fascism, and for the freedom, independence, and sovereignty of our homeland, for the revolutionary change of Romanian society and the construction of socialism and communism in Romania.

The PEC expressed the conviction that these anniversaries will be an excellent opportunity to demonstrate the close unity of the whole nation around the party and its secretary general, to broadly mobilize the creative energy and efforts of all working people to unflinchingly implement the theses, ideas, and guidelines included in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech of November 1988, to optimally fulfill the targets of the current 5-year plan and of the plans and programs for our country's socioeconomic development, and to commendably implement the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and National Conference.

During the meeting, a report was presented regarding the official visit of Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, to our country from 22-25 February this year.

The PEC assessed that that visit is an expression of the traditional Romanian-Iranian ties of friendship and cooperation and that, through its results, it marked an important stage in developing multi-faceted relations between the two countries to the benefit of both peoples and the cause of peace, understanding, and international cooperation. It was emphasized that during the talks, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i assessed relations between Romania and Iran positively, relations which are based on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage. The presidents of the two countries arrived at common conclusions regarding expanding bilateral collaboration and cooperation, particularly in such areas as industry, agriculture, trade, science, and technology by moving from the economic potential of the two countries and from the experience gained in the process of implementing projects of mutual interest.

During the talks, the sides also had a useful exchange of views on major international issues. Romania's and Iran's desire was expressed to strengthen cooperation in the world arena, to contribute actively to halting the arms race and to moving toward disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, to solving disputes between states through peaceful means and negotiations, to eliminating underdevelopment and establishing a new international economic order, and to achieving a lasting atmosphere of detente, security, cooperation, and peace in the world.

Endorsing the results of the visit, the PEC asked the government, the ministries, and the other central bodies to take measures to ensure the implementation of the decisions regarding the more intensive development of Romanian-Iranian relations.

The PEC also solved current problems of the party and state activity.

Suvar Interviewed on Problems, Soviet Ties

PM0303133189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 First Edition p 6

["Interview with Comrade Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium," by B. Averchenko, member of the PRAVDA Editorial Collegium, and Ye. Fadeyev, PRAVDA's own correspondent in the SFRY, in Belgrade: "Socialism Has Passed the Test of History..." date not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Comrade Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, received Boris Averchenko, member of the PRAVDA Editorial Collegium, and Yevgeniy Fadeyev, PRAVDA's own correspondent in the SFRY, and answered their questions. We publish below a transcript of this interview, which took place in the LCY Central Committee.

[Correspondents] Our peoples' destinies have been repeatedly intertwined in both the distant and the recent past. Soviet people follow fraternal Yugoslavia's life with profound interest and sympathy. In your view, how are our mutual relations and cooperation developing in various spheres?

[Suvar] Yugoslavia's peoples, like the Soviet Union's peoples, have struggled through their history for freedom and the progress of culture and civilization, and they have succeeded in their struggle. In the past the ideas of pan-Slavism played a positive role in the struggle and the national rebirth of the southern Slavs, while Russia helped the southern Slav peoples in their efforts to cast off centuries of enslavement by the Ottoman Empire. [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 3 March republishes the Suvar interview in its Second Edition, with several variations. The Second Edition version omits the preceding two sentences]

The ties between the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union are especially strong in their modern history—from the time of great October to this day. More than 30,000 Yugoslavs, Josip Broz Tito among them, took part in the October Socialist Revolution. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia was created on the basis of Lenin's ideas in April 1919. We in our country emphasize not only the momentous and crucial role of the October revolution in Russia, but also the fact that it inspired our own workers and socialist movement. Already in existence beforehand, it rallied in the wake of October in order to prepare and ultimately accomplish a socialist revolution in Yugoslavia, proceeding from our country's specific features and finding its own solutions.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia addressed an appeal to our peoples to rise against the fascist aggressors immediately following the attack by Hitler's Germany against the Soviet Union. There were 810,000 soldiers of the new Yugoslav Army, commanded by Marshal Tito, marching shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army and the other antifascist armies at the time of the final rout of European fascism in May 1945.

During the first phase of socialist development we followed the example of Soviet experience and Soviet solutions, but at the same time utilized primarily the original and specific features which were born out of our people's liberation struggle in 1941-1945, and this subsequently led to the 1948 clash with the Informburo, to Stalin's condemnations and pressure. But the period of bad Soviet-Yugoslav relations did not last long and, with the 1955 Belgrade declaration and the 1956 Moscow statement and after a few hesitations, relations started steadily improving. Our meetings with M.S. Gorbachev in the last few years and the adoption of last year's Yugoslav-Soviet declaration introduced far-reaching overtones and reliable long-term foundations into these relations.

I think that there are no longer any major problems of a political nature in Yugoslav-Soviet relations, while any differences that might emerge are more proof of socialism's enrichment with new ideas than an expression of different views on questions of strategy. Nevertheless, some problems do develop in economic ties and inevitably leave their mark on political relations, and in this regard it is that much more necessary to have the utmost mutual respect for another country's specific interests.

[Correspondents] Just as every revolution, the Yugoslav socialist revolution had its own specific features. The same logically applies as regards your country's socialist development to this day. Could you briefly mention these past and present specific features and the results scored along the path traveled by Yugoslavia?

[Suvar] Despite all the hardships and trials which socialism is now encountering in our country, the revolution in Yugoslavia has produced a major and positive historical result. It has been and remains a socialist, democratic, and mass revolution in terms of its nature and rhe forces which accomplished and are still accomplishing it. This revolution's original features and achievements became apparent, for example, back at the time of the people's liberation struggle and were revealed in its duality—it was a liberation struggle and a social coup d'etat.

Following the armed victory of the socialist revolution, our war-torn and devastated country introduced state ownership of the means of production and persistently implemented collectivization of the numerous poor peasantry, following the example of the Soviet kolkhoz system. There was an unjustifiably accelerated industrialization and ensuing rapid urbanization. Despite the fact that fast growth of industrial output was achieved and industry's key sectors were boosted, problems soon emerged of disequilibrium in the economic structure, imbalances, economic inefficiency, and irrationality in

the sphere of capital investments and distribution of accumulations. Interest in work diminished, and there was a decline in agricultural output.

We soon abandoned collectivization in agriculture on the strength of the idea of using economic means to establish links between the private and public sectors in agriculture (which, by the way, was Bukharin's viewpoint in the twenties). An answer to the problems which our newly established socialist country encountered, in addition to the conflict with the Informburo and Stalin, was found in the idea and practice of developing workers socialist self-management. That was the path we took way back in the early fifties and, despite the fact that we have both deviated and retreated from it, we are sticking to it!

The foundation of the idea and practice of workers self-management lies in criticism of the alienated and bureaucratized might of the state in relations with the working class.

Our revolution, proceeding from Lenin's forecast that every country would have its own path to socialism, affirmed the need for and the right to autonomous and independent revolutionary transformation within the framework of the monumental trends of the establishment and development of socialism, offering proof of internationalism in deeds rather than in an external and mechanical fashion by obedience to a world center of revolutionary struggle. This right to have one's own path is now emphasized also in the Soviet Union, but in the past it was sharply condemned and punished under Stalin's diktat.

Our experience has convincingly proved (despite all its ups and downs) that the working class, using nothing but political means, cannot do away with either class divisions or commodity production, just as it cannot wave a magic wand to overcome social contradictions. Yugoslav socialism is encountering more acutely today than yesterday the problems of overcoming its etatist and bureaucratic constraints, of overcoming bureaucratization through democratization, and of encouraging the market production which was described by Yugoslav theoreticians even as far back as 1950 as the indispensable basis of socialist self-management.

Since socialism is living through difficulties and trials and is meeting the challenge of the times in other countries too, it is that much more incumbent on the forces of our revolution to overcome the present state of stagnation along our path of socialist development and to sweep away the increased deformations in society and the hesitations as regards the further development of socialist self-management. First and foremost we must achieve a much broader and much deeper and genuine democratization of society, a democratization which would ensure new and even greater achievements by socialism along the economic and spiritual avenues.

[Correspondents] What you have just said prompts us to ask the following question: Could you please describe the current situation in the country? [PRAVDA Second Edition adds: "Last year, as you recently said in an interview with Yugoslav newspapers, was the most difficult for Yugoslavia in the postwar period. What happened in 1988 and during the first few months of this year?"]

[Suvar] In brief: Last year and this year, political and social life reached a culmination in a crisis in our progress along the socialist path, despite considerable achievements in spheres such as the expansion of direct socialist democracy, the development of socialist commodity production, national equality, material prosperity, and human spiritual and creative freedoms.... [PRAVDA Second Edition adds: "In other words, these actual achievements were no longer adequate and should have been much greater to ensure that whatever had already been achieved was neither jeopardized nor nullified."]

Until quite recently socialist theories and ideologies everywhere, including here in Yugoslavia, denied the likelihood of social and economic crises in the very nature of the socialist system. Bearing in mind that socialism can confirm its historical advantage over capitalism and preceding methods of production only through the economic liberation of labor, the development of science as a productive force, and the abolition of social exploitation, it is natural that it should meet the challenge of crises by positively overcoming internal contradictions, enhancing the creative role of the working class and every worker, raising labor productivity, and accelerating scientific and technical progress.

The causes of the economic crisis in Yugoslavia are rooted in the extensive method of economic management, the orientation toward rigidly implemented industrialization, and a lack of respect for the laws governing commodity production, which resulted in low economic efficiency, imbalances in development, high price rises, inflation and unemployment, and inordinately high external debt. This is what has led to the exacerbation of social relations in society.

The last few years, and the last year in particular, proved that the secret of all secrets in our country's economic and political life is the still meager surplus value and its poor utilization, and it is no longer possible to cover this up either by making extensive capital investments, by borrowing money abroad, by spending money that has not been earned and pumping it from profitable into nonprofitable economic enterprises, or by having the state print more money.

Diverse class and social interests have surfaced in all their acuteness, and various movements have emerged with different concepts about overcoming the present grave situation in society, beginning with those which keep to the base and concepts of socialism and ending with those which deny the legitimacy and prospects of

working class power and the attainability of socialism's ideals. Despite this, and as 1988 graphically proved, socialist demands nevertheless overwhelmingly gain the upper hand.

Last year was a difficult one for all Yugoslav citizens, and it may have been the hardest in a series of unsuccessful years. It was, however, the year in which we all evidently realized our current state and perceived the ways out of it. [PRAVDA Second Edition omits the preceding two sentences] Together with the program of reforms—economic and political reform and reform of the party itself—which the LCY Conference advocated in May 1988 and which was even more energetically emphasized by the 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum in October 1988, there have emerged elements for our society's reintegration on what I would call more stable and more objective economic foundations. In market economy conditions, the political factor and the LCY can no longer rest satisfied with the role of a voluntarist arbiter relying on the state's might; the LCY no longer has the right to act a state party but must prepare to take on the role of an "internal" force—the driving force and inspirer of the working class and the working people in all institutions and forms of socialist democracy.

[Correspondents] Some years ago one of us, as a member of a USSR Journalists Union delegation, met you in Zagreb. At that time you made a wide-ranging review of the ideological situation in the country. What positive changes have occurred in Yugoslav society's spiritual life during the latest period?

[Suvar] A significant breakthrough has occurred in the minds of the majority of people and in mass social awareness in Yugoslavia. The optimistic and apologetic perception of heroic and monolithic socialism has disappeared (it is almost nonexistent now). The prestige of Tito, the major historical leader of the revolution, has receded into the world of memories and nostalgia among the older generation. [PRAVDA Second Edition omits the preceding sentence and renders the following sentence as: "A state of dismay and mass depression built up in conditions of economic stagnation, high inflation, and declining living standards."] Young people are growing up in conditions of decades of economic stagnation, high inflation, and declining living standards, and they are encountering growing difficulties in finding jobs and solving the most important problems of life.

The state of dismay and mass depression was accompanied not only by obsolete rhetoric but also by a swelling criticism which displays many uncultured and atavistic aspects, as well as by a multiplication of all manner of conflicts. The democratization of political life is accompanied by anarchic and anachronistic manifestations of retrograde perceptions of social, national, cultural, and religious "structures," including rallies and strikes.

I nevertheless think that, despite everything, democratization has a greater chance in Yugoslavia than ever before, while there is a far less danger that socialism might regress. We are drawing further and further away from the barrack-room and distributive rules of beggarly socialism and are moving in the direction of a socialism under which man will come to the forefront with his needs, his freedoms and rights to opinions and organization, and his personality—not the personality of an egotistic and selfish being, but of a responsible subject.

Many dogmas and confusions—both "our own" Yugoslav ones and those "universally held"—about socialism, its true nature, and its driving forces have vanished into thin air. This causes great confusion in people's minds and in the daily pulse of social life. It is also fraught with the danger that new dogmas might appear, such as faith that the market is capable of resolving everything. There is something else that is clear: Social stability can no longer be achieved through orders and all-embracing bureaucratic control; it can be achieved only through powerful development of socialist democracy, the actions of a rule-of-law state, strict observance of laws, the eradication of privileges regardless of who might be enjoying them, free criticism accompanied by responsibility by every individual and every collective, and people's interest in working as well and as much as possible so that life can be the best and happiest possible....

[Correspondents] Your work "Socialism and Nations" was published last spring. What could you say about the nationalities question in the SFRY?

[Suvar] Despite Lenin's thorough analyses and warnings, socialist countries held that the nationalities question had been "solved" once national self-determination and equality had been proclaimed.

Yugoslavia—and I do not think it would be immodest to mention this—recognized more than any other socialist country the prolonged topicality of the nationalities question, and the League of Communists was not color-blind in this regard. But this does not mean that we thus protected ourselves from the negative legacy of history and the negative consequences of objective social contradictions in mutual relations between peoples and ethnic groups (national minorities) in our country.

How could I summarize in a brief answer all that I wrote in the two hefty volumes of the book "Socialism and Nations" (in which I also included a separate scientific work on the nationalities question in the Soviet Union, written way back in 1971)?

Even today, under socialism—be it Yugoslav, be it Soviet, or be it any other—it is as easy to be a nationalist as it is to be a careerist and a demagogue; the difficult thing is to be a genuine communist. Let us recall Lenin again: Scratch a little bit beneath the skin!... [PRAVDA Second Edition omits preceding paragraph]

Yugoslavia, being a federative socialist community, is inhabited by six peoples: The Serbian, Croatian, and Slovene peoples were recognized even during the bourgeois period, while the Macedonian, Montenegrin, and Muslim peoples won the right to self-determination only through the socialist revolution. The country is also inhabited by 10 ethnic groups (national minorities), 2 of which comprise over 100,000 inhabitants—the Albanian (around 2 million) and the Hungarian (around 450,000). The national heterogeneity—and not just the heterogeneity—is reflected in the six socialist republics and in the two socialist autonomous provinces within the Serbian Socialist Republic.

The nationalities question has become exacerbated, while nationalism has intensified because there has been a steadily growing bureaucratic isolation of republics and provinces in relations with each other and with the federation. This developed on the basis of technocratic-bureaucratic decisionmaking on surplus value within "national" borders, without really having a single Yugoslav market (since, in our own experience, central state planning cannot be a substitute for it) to ensure economic integration and mobility of all factors of production regardless of republican and provincial borders.

[Correspondents] Could you tell us what is happening now in Kosovo?

[Suvar] A nationalist movement has existed in Kosovo for a long time. It sets itself the goal of transforming this autonomous socialist province, which is part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, into a separate Albanian republic within Yugoslavia to be followed by adhesion to Albania. It was in this context that Albanian nationalism strove also during World War II, under fascist Italy's patronage, to create a so-called Greater Albania, while back in 1945 the Balists (Albanian nationalists) organized an uprising and Marshal Tito introduced martial law in Kosovo in the spring of that year. Albanian nationalists organized demonstrations in 1968 and in 1981. Now miners of Albanian nationality from the "Stari Trg" mine have organized a strike, staged a sit-in underground, made demands against amendments to Serbia's Constitution, and demanded the resignation of some leaders—which won them broader solidarity among the Albanian population and heightened the sense of alarm among Serbs, Montenegrins, and other inhabitants of Kosovo. This is why special measures were introduced to protect public installations, production units, and citizens' lives and property. But there have been no outbreaks of violence.

Of course, the Albanian ethnic group enjoys all national and other rights enjoyed by all peoples and ethnic groups in Yugoslavia.

We would need a separate interview to make a more detailed analysis of the situation prevailing in Kosovo, of its causes and consequences.

Peoples, just like individuals, must feel equal and free under socialism, with rights to promote all aspects of their originality.

[Correspondents] You mentioned the program of three reforms advocated by the LCY. But how successful a beginning has been made on implementing these reforms?

[Suvar] After prolonged hesitation and after a painful farewell to its own errors and dogmas, the LCY and all organized socialist forces essentially advocated far-reaching social reform, which we, from the technical viewpoint, subdivided into three reforms. We know that the changes can no longer be delayed.

In short, it is a matter not only of a basic overhaul, but also of a plan for the renewal of socialism in Yugoslavia in the main area of socialist self-management. It will have importance not only for all the peoples and ethnic groups, for the working class and labor collectives, but for every person who makes a contribution to renewal in terms of his ability and responsibility.

When we are talking about economic development, and therefore of the well-thought-out ideological and theoretical elaboration and implementation of economic reform, I would say that in this matter too we must arrive at new conclusions and no longer talk about socialist commodity production or commodity production under socialism, but talk about socialism in conditions of commodity production. This approach sees neither socialism nor commodity production as fixed and eternal categories, but regards them as means of and prerequisites for human liberation.

Nevertheless we needed time and personal experience to understand certain things. [PRAVDA Second Edition provides variant preceding paragraph: "All-embracing economic reform is a mandatory condition of socialism in our country."]

Economic reform must be the final step toward revealing the real meaning of socialist self-management, whereby it can actually acquire real economic substance in order not to be an empty political shell and a system for the transmission of power adapted to the antiquated structure of production forces and Taylorist [piece-rate system named after 19th century U.S. economist] labor organization.

[PRAVDA Second Edition adds: "In our view, the criterion of competitiveness is the most up-to-date structure of the economy, whereby socialization occurs as a result of changes in the technological, ownership, management, incentives, and market structures."]

In the modern concept of social ownership monitored by the market, if a worker is still a hired hand, it is only in relation to himself. This modern self-management, wherein the producers of material and spiritual goods

make decisions by means of self-management concerning the conditions and fruits of their labor, is the main aim of economic reform. It has a new charcater as a result of the structural adaptation of the entire economy and the whole of social reproduction to the new conditions. The new enterprises which we have decided to establish in Yugoslavia will be organized and flexible as regards the introduction of new technology, knowledge, and market trends, and they will be adapted to developed commodity production, based not only on individual efficiency but also on cooperation, coordination, and integrated regulation.

The economic reform can be briefly defined as a switch from a distributive economy, in which the state, in the absence of the requisite profits, is increasingly "devaluing the coinage," taking on credits and encouraging inflation, thus becoming a medium of increasingly unjust distribution and increasing impoverishment, to a productive economy in which the state abandons the position of a central economic lever and assumes the function of a global economic coordinator, ensuring legal order and financial stability. State interference is something necessary and essential, but not in terms of monopolizing the system's economic functions.

Tangible incentives for producers of material and spiritual goods and the independence of economic entities and their responsibility for production and output, monitored by market sales, must eventually replace etatist planning, distribution, risk-taking, mediation, and socialization of losses (but the state, naturally, should not forfeit essential control and organizational functions).

Excessive fear of private ownership of small means of production, for instance, in agriculture, in associated industries, in a number of other sectors, and in the services sphere has also contributed to the fact that hitherto socialism has been a society of hardship rather than plenty. On the other hand, subsidies allocated for many types of personal and public consumption, surplus jobs, and noneconomic criteria of employment and job placement have accentuated the lack of incentives in labor, the leveling, and the parasitical behavior of individuals and entire strata of society.

This is the foundation both for the reform of the political system which began with the adoption of amendments to the SFRY Constitution last November and will continue in the next 2-3 years with the adoption of a new constitution—and for the transformation of the LCY so that it operates not as the party in power, but as the party of the working class in the ranks of that class and in society as a whole, playing the part of ideological and political leader, as a force that does not command but encourages and inspires.

[Correspondents] Most socialist countries are currently searching for new solutions, and reforms are being devised and implemented, beginning with restructuring here and ending with the three reforms in your country. How do you view the development of socialism in the world, and what are its achievements and prospects?

[Suvar] In a more profound historical sense socialism is still in its infancy. It has existed for 70 years in the Soviet Union and in other countries only 50, 40, 30 years.... But it has passed the historical test insofar as at the beginning of the century it was only an idea, in fact, only a program, albeit validated in theoretical, Marxist terms as a progressive, revolutionary possibility; now, at the end of the century, it has become an accelerated worldwide-historic process which, as it develops and advances along various paths, is significantly predetermining mankind's reality and prospects.

As a result of material and technological backwardness, socialism—fearful, first in the Soviet Union and then in other countries, of capitalist "encirclement"—has hitherto kept to its national and regional-bloc borders and has been protected by a general state-ownership monopoly in the matter of regulating the conditions of production, exchange, and distribution, turning a blind eye to the law of value as an epoch-making law which it is impossible to avoid, until the historically still-remote association of free producers should knock at the door. It was this that gave rise to socialism's many restrictions, the many rigid rules in the economic, political, and cultural spheres, the many dogmas and errors, which it is still hard to get rid of despite the grim ordeals and obviously ever-growing impotence and unsuitability of etatist decisions and subjective decrees.

As you know, in the Russian October Revolution, socialism was thought of in terms of world revolution. After the defeat of the revolution in Germany and in other regions of Europe, there appeared the theory of socialism in one country. It was then that evolution began in the direction of state socialism as a closed society, in which the state and party bureaucracy grew strong. This defensive concept, imposed both by outside pressure and capitalist hostility, and from within, under pressure from the old production forces, has essentially persisted to this day. This concept inevitably turns into fear of the outside world, fear of new ideas, fear of the restoration of capitalism, and so on. I believe this is also the main methodological basis for any analysis of the plan for the renewal of socialism.

"Closed" instead of "open" socialism in the economy leads to state and party control over ideas, culture, science, freedom to create and freedom of expression, travel abroad, and, often, travel at home. This has resulted in and is still resulting in many bans and even grossly repressive measures. An open ideological and political struggle for the creation and functioning of public opinion, which would be truly socialist, not bureaucratically dictated and subject to manipulation nor created according to the laws of the "consciousness

industry" and the sham democracy of bourgeois society, is an essential prerequisite of the strengthening and establishment of socialism everywhere, in every country, and worldwide.

The forces of socialism must now face up to all this if they want to eradicate the phenomena of conservatism, stagnation, and even regression on socialist territory.

It is a heartening and now evident fact that socialism has begun to learn from its own mistakes. This is the purpose of the reforms being proclaimed and beginning to be implemented in certain socialist countries, including Soviet restructuring and our three Yugoslav reforms.

I am convinced that socialism now, for the first time in its history, is heralding a positive democratic strategy based not on the export of revolution and repression, but on the "export" of ideas, labor, peace initiatives, and technological projects. It is the beginning of the victory of the concept of socialism as a pluralist world process that is growing in various forms worldwide.

What does this mean and what does it presuppose? First, we must define socialism as the means and process of liberating people and the ideas of movement and order. Second, we must get rid of the concept of socialism as the point beyond which all development ceases and see it as development from less to ever more socialism with a number of crucial stages. Third, socialism must proclaim the concepts of freedom and a healthy and rich life, for there is no freedom without wealth and health and there is no wealth without the liberation of human beings, without social, political, and creative freedoms. Fourth, the theory of socialism is from the very start pluralistic and cannot be reduced to a single model. Fifth, socialism must acquire an entirely different concept of progress from the quantitative concept that is basically common to state socialism and state capitalism and must unite the progress of knowledge and freedom; there is no socialism without alternatives, without competing projects.

Furthermore, when we consider the future of socialism, we must know that world socialism is not confronting capitalism; they are not two geographically separate zones or two hemispheres. Capitalism and socialism are interconnected in our era. Capitalism itself, split into the growing forces of democracy and conservative and totalitarian trends, is for all that moving away from its former unceremonious principles and methods; many new elements have appeared in labor organization, in the organization of society, and in class relations as a result of the development of production forces, science, and technology. The world, consequently, is not returning to capitalism, but capitalism itself is giving rise to relations and decisions which, by the criteria of the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries, are distinctly socialist.

[Correspondents] There is much talk in Yugoslavia about creating a concept of socialism fit for the 21st century, about socialism fit for man, and so forth. What, essentially, is meant by this?

[Suvar] Unquestionably, it is not just a matter of combining Kant's "ethical socialism" with Marx' historical materialism. We want socialism to become a concept that does not die with the attainment of a high level of industrial development on the threshold of the 21st century. We must not enter the coming century armed with dogmas which contain no immediate, viable human truth: We must enter it prepared to raise vital questions and expose problems which demand a solution.

For us, this is above all a question of democracy in conditions of new individuality and subjectiveness in light of the end of the age of mass societies in which the will to power prevailed. We cannot wait for these structural changes in the alignment of power to take place, in order to provide wise explanations with hindsight. The concept which provides the answer to the question of the continuation of the social revolution in the coming century, a century characterized by science and technology, will gain the political, social, and ethical support of mankind. [PRAVDA Second Edition adds: "The critical, Marxist, and left-wing thinking which developed outside the canons of official ideology offered qualitative analyses of state problems, decisionmaking, and control of power, the mass media, and communications in the emerging conditions of the postindustrial society."] The analysis of the ecological prospects of the world as a whole and of each individual country, analysis of the interrelation between science, technology, and freedom, and so forth—these are the spheres in which the socialist concept for the 21st century can take on a real shape if it synthesizes the new knowledge. It is our task to reveal and unite this knowledge and to release it in the direction of the renewal of socialism.

[Correspondents] How are the preparations for the 14th LCY Congress and the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia [CPY] going?

[Suvar] At its 20th plenum at the end of January, the Central Committee decided to hold the 14th LCY Congress before the end of this year, that is 6 months ahead of schedule. At its upcoming session, which will take place in March, the Central Committee will make the necessary decisions in connection with the congress and the main documents that the congress will adopt. The commission for the transformation of the LCY, which has been working for several months now, will submit a document to the Central Committee at that session, specifying what is to be changed in the role, organization, and method of work of the League of Communists. A party-wide discussion of the documents will then ensue.

We will mark the 70th anniversary of the CPY-LCY with a ceremonial session of the LCY Central Committee, to be held 19 April, and exhibitions and symposiums throughout the year.

[Correspondents] How do you assess Yugoslavia's present position in the world?

[Suvar] Yugoslavia enjoys the reputation of a nonaligned socialist country, a country with open borders and definite and specific socialist aspirations and achievements. Our domestic difficulties and problems have, nonetheless, in certain respects resulted in a certain decline in our prestige in comparison with Tito's time. Our foreign policy remains consistent. The SFRY seeks progress and peace and tries to develop cooperation with all countries on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. We are also striving for a more favorable place and a more important role of our country in Europe in the present-day economic, technological, and integration processes under way on the whole of our continent. It is of decisive importance for us to join the world market and the modern scientific and technological development in the world on the most favorable terms, and therefore we are especially pleased about the improvement, albeit initial, in the global political situation, for which great credit is due to the Soviet Union.

The Nonaligned Movement's confidence in Yugoslavia and in its active and creative role were admirably demonstrated last fall when, without any doing of its own, it was elected chairman of the movement; in other words, when it was chosen as the country which will coordinate the organization's active steps during the next 3 years and host the meeting of the heads of state and government of some 100 nonaligned countries and liberation movements in September of this year. This role of Yugoslavia's has been recognized also outside the ranks of the nonaligned countries, by the USSR among others.

[Correspondents] What can you say about restructuring in the USSR and the new Soviet foreign policy initiatives?

[Suvar] Judging by appearances, the course toward restructuring is bold and far-reaching and is of great significance for the further development of socialism not just in the Soviet Union, but in the world as a whole. So the Yugoslav Communists and the broadest circles of the Yugoslav public view this course with great sympathy.

If I follow correctly what the policy of restructuring has achieved in domestic terms, I would say that it is a question of making considerable progress in the socialist democratization of Soviet society; highlighting past distortions and errors with a focus on the future; ensuring dynamic economic, technological, and cultural development; establishing a new climate in social and cultural life; and stepping up the struggle against bureaucracy.

In the foreign policy sphere the new Soviet foreign policy peace intiatives, which have contributed to a relaxation of international tension and the Soviet Union's increased prestige in the world, are of great positive significance and influence.

People tend to forget. It is enough to remember what sort of atmosphere prevailed in the world just 3 years ago, or even more recently. The possibility of a catastrophe affecting the whole of civilization and apocalyptical pictures coming to mind at the thought of "the day after"—this was a reality on our planet.

Today the world is breathing more freely, and many people in Asia, Africa, and South America have already forgotten the ugly reality of constant wars. The peace initiatives, which also occupy a strategic place in the new thinking and restructuring, have not only reaffirmed the old truth about the relationship between socialism and war [as published], but have most directly demonstrated its ability to make a new contribution to the progress of civilization. [PRAVDA Second Edition adds: "People in the world cannot be fooled: They can sense what steps have been taken toward the idea of a lasting peace—an idea which cannot be the property and right of large nations and powerful systems alone but must be a reality for every inhabitant of the globe."]

In this context we in Yugoslavia too are most interested in viewing Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals as our common home, in which freedom, democracy, and self-determination will form the roof and economic integration and ecological, technological and peace projects will form the foundations of this edifice.

It is obvious, however, that changing social relations, relations within the economy, and even habits and the old style of conduct is the most difficult task of all. We in Yugoslavia are aware of this, so I am sure that the policy of Soviet restructuring has come up against it too.

[Correspondents] What is your opinion of the cooperation between the LCY and the CPSU, and where do you see potential for the strengthening and enrichment of this cooperation?

[Suvar] Our cooperation is good, continuous, and full of respect and mutual understanding. However, this does not mean that it could not be better or more meaningful still. In the sphere of interparty cooperation we should not stop at simple, routine briefings of each other, visits, and lectures with possible thoughts of influencing each other in the propaganda sphere. It is necessary to have more joint research projects and open debates on the problems of the development of socialism and of the present-day world.

[Correspondents] In conclusion, could you say a few words about yourself. Where do you come from, and when did you enter politics?

[Suvar] I was born in Dalmatia, at the foot of the Biokovo Mountains, close to the Adriatic. My father was a member of the CPY from 1919, worked as a miner in Serbia, was a partisan leader, and became a member of a people's committee after the liberation.

I worked my way through high school and university.

I worked as a research sociologist, as a lecturer, as director of a scientific institute, and, finally, became a professor at Zagreb University. I am not a professional politician. At the 13th LCY Congress in 1986 I was elected a member of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium for the first time. Now I hold the post of chairman of the Presidium.

FRG Revokes 1968 Visa Agreement With SFRY

LD0803213689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2044 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade March 8 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia regrets the unilateral decision of the West German Government to revoke the visa agreement. The decision is incompatible with the strivings towards good bilateral relations and overall European relations, Yugoslav Government Press Spokesman Ivo Vajgl told TANJUG today.

Vajgl said that Yugoslavia has just been unofficially informed about the decision, which anticipates that the regulations of the 1968 agreement, making it possible for citizens of Yugoslavia and the Federal Republic of Germany to travel to the other countries without visas, will become ineffective after a certain procedure.

Vajgl said that the Bonn government's decision would become effective after a certain procedure and the re-examination of some of its modalities. Ambassador Vajgl said that the Yugoslav Government hoped that the two countries would through mutual efforts find a better solution. All efforts of the Yugoslav foreign secretariat and the competent Yugoslav bodies were aimed in that direction, Vajgl added.

Loncar Says Impact Expected

AU0803194589 Vienna Television Service in German 1830 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Unattributed interview with SFRY Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar in reaction to the FRG Government decision to introduce visa regulations for SFRY citizens, in Vienna on 8 March—recorded; Loncar statements in English with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Loncar] This measure would have a direct impact on our cooperation, including economic relations; it would make our contacts more difficult, slower, less efficient, and so on.

[Question] How will the SFRY react to the introduction of compulsory visas?

[Loncar] We will have to think about this. It is very difficult for me to answer this question at this moment. We are a sovereign country, very proud and, at the same time, pragmatic. However, these three elements have to be considered before we express our attitude. I hope that we do not arrive at a point where we will have to reconsider our position.

Vlasi Punishable by 10 Years in Prison or Death

AU0803135789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Mar 89 p 12

[N.S. report: "What Do Articles 114 and 139 Mean?"]

[Text] As announced, Azem Vlasi, Aziz Abrasi, and Burhan Kavaja are under investigation "because of the established suspicion that they have committed the criminal act of making counterrevolutionary threats to the social system, on the basis of Article 114 of the SFRY Penal Code, punishable according to Article 139, paragraph 1 of the same code."

What are these two articles about?

Article 114 appears under the "title" of the counterrevolutionary threat to social system.

The heading of Article 139 is: "Punishment for the Most Serious Forms of Criminal Acts." The article states:

"(1) Perpetrators of criminal acts, as defined by Article 114 (...) of this code, which result in the death of another person; endanger the life of other people; are accompanied by serious violence or considerable destruction; or pose a threat to the safety, economic potential, or to the military forces of the country, or in other particularly serious cases, will be punished with imprisonment of not less than 10 years, or the death penalty."

LCY Presidency Views Congress Preparations

LD0803144189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1250 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 8 (TANJUG)—Social reform and a transformation of the League of Communists (LCY) should be the central themes of the coming early party congress, the LCY Central Committee Presidency said.

In a statement released today from a meeting held on Monday and Tuesday, the party Presidency said that in the preparations for the congress emphasis should be laid on the view that reforms constitute a basis for a democratic way for the Yugoslav society to surmount the present crisis.

An exact date for the holding of the congress has not yet been set, but accord has been reached for it to be organized by the end of this year.

The party Presidency said it was necessary to perceive the essential characteristics of the current situation in the country and establish a strategy of social change. It is in this light that a new role should be considered for the LCY in the new market economy circumstances.

Neither an economic reform nor a political one can be implemented without fundamental changes in the role and activity of the party, the LCY Presidency said.

The coming party congress should also afford attention to the drafting of an ideo-political platform for a new Yugoslav Constitution.

It was also pointed out in today's statement that the party congress should not constitute simply a search for a day-to-day programme for surmounting the crisis, but that the Yugoslav party must also provide a reply to the question of what kind of socialism should be developed at the threshold of the 21st century, and in which manner production forces and production relations in Yugoslav society should be developed.

SFRY Presidency Wants Obstructors Named

AU0803205189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] If the harmonization of views in the SFRY Assembly Chamber of the Republics and Provinces ends with a lack of agreement, resulting in 10 documents being adopted as provisional measures, the SFRY Presidency believes that the assembly chamber should issue a report that will acquaint the public with all those who, through their behavior, caused a 4-month delay in decisionmaking on important acts. This was stated by Janez Zemljaric, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, who presented the views of the Presidency to the participants at a meeting of the president of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces with the vice president, the presidents of the delegations, and the chairmen of the working bodies.

SFRY Presidency Comments on Kosovo, Reform

LD0803221989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—At a session today, chaired by Raif Dizdarevic, the SFRY Presidency considered the implementation of the special measures in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, whose aim is to protect the constitutional system, public order and peace, the security of citizens and social property, as well as the normalization of life and work and the renewal of intranational trust, and to create conditions throughout the country for an improvement in the political situation and relations, for a resolute approach to economic reform, and for its consistent implementation.

It was stated that these measures have met with wide support in the country, which was expressed in the stances of a large number of self-managing organs, assemblies, and other state and political organs, at meetings in work collectives, local communities, and meetings of sociopolitical organizations, working people, citizens, veterans, and young people. The large number of telegrams, letters, and messages sent to the SFRY Presidency also testifies to this.

The SFRY Presidency calls for support for the measures to be expressed by turning to work, to working and other duties, practical steps, and political activities that will contribute to the further calming of the situation both in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and throughout the country, because the stabilization of the overall situation in the country is a condition for the success of the measures being undertaken in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The SFRY Presidency warns that at certain political gatherings in the country, at meetings of political leaderships, and particularly via the media, public disputes, conflicts, and polemics continue to flare up which exacerbate the already visible national divisions and differences between the republics and the autonomous provinces, encouraging nationalism, separatism, and national hatred, and poisoning the overall political atmosphere in the country. Political passions are assuming such dimensions that a sense of responsibility for the future of the country, for its much weakened international reputation, and for international interests is being lost.

Relations among individual republics and autonomous provinces have been seriously disrupted, with consequences in various spheres of public life. Recent developments in the country have evidently pushed the difficult economic situation in the country into the background and have seriously jeopardized efforts to carry out an economic reform. Political conflicts are affecting commercial and economic relations within the country and have even led to breaks in normal economic links between some parts of the country. This is unacceptable and is likely to have serious economic consequences for the whole Yugoslav economy, and is in direct contrast to the aims of the economic reform.

In the SFRY Presidency's view, in a situation like the current one, all social factors, including the Presidencies, other state organs, and political leaderships in the republics and provinces, in particular, must make the utmost effort to defuse the situation and put an end to public quarreling, conflicts, and polemics. All social factors have the duty not to remain idle in the present situation and to continue to be aware of both their individual and their collective responsibility for the situation in their environments and in the country as a whole, for its future and for the implementation of special measures in Kosovo, and by their activities to contribute to the efforts to defuse the situation.

It is the view of the SFRY Presidency that the leaderships of the republics between which the quarrels, conflicts, and polemics are most serious should meet as soon

as possible and devise a plan of joint activity to defuse and remove them. In accordance within its constitutional tasks, the SFRY Presidency will also make efforts to this end.

At its session today the SFRY Presidency also considered an FEC report about the work on harmonizing some of the 1989 economic policy documents.

Albanian Miners in Magura Stop Production
LD0903105189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1035 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Lipljan, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—Miners of Albanian nationality at the Goles magnesium mine in Magura, not far from Lipljan, stopped production again this morning. About 400 of them are currently in the mine area, where they are holding a meeting.

Since this morning they have been demanding talks with municipal and provincial officials, and stress that they will not disperse until some of these (?officials) come and see them.

Normalization of Life in Kosovo Continues
LD0403100189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0130 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, March 3 (TANJUG)—Life in the Yugoslav autonomous province of Kosovo, where the ethnic Albanian miners' strike resulted in new aggravation of inter-nationality relations ten days ago, is gradually normalizing.

All enterprises in the province, which is part of Serbia, are operating except for the epicenter of the eight-day strike, the Stari Trg and Goles mines which are undergoing technical overhauls.

Public service and institutions are also functioning as usual, only the Pristina University recorded less attendance by ethnic Albanian students and less attendance by Serbian and Montenegrin pupils was recorded in schools.

While the pages of the domestic press are covered with the first reviews and commentaries which set out new details about the organization of the miners' strike which was directed by Albanian separatists and chauvinists, further resignations in certain political posts have been announced by Serbs and Montenegrins in the province. Representatives of the minority population, exposed to years of persecution by Albanian separtists, do not agree to the extorted resignations of three Albanian provincial party officials, representatives of the new, Yugoslav orientation in Kosovo.

Serbian and Montenegrin journalists of Radio-Pristina announced they would strike if they were not enabled to start the broadcast of a 19-hour program in Serbo-Croatian by tomorrow. So far, Radio-Pristina broadcasts programs of up to six to seven hours in Serbo-Croatian while ethnic Albanians (a monority in Yugoslavia but a majority in Kosovo province) have three programs in the Albanian language.

Professors who teach in the Serbo-Croatian language at the Pristina University continue to make energetic demands for the condemnation of those who verbally and materially upheld the Trepca miners in their demands whose final aim was the futher destabilization of Yugoslavia and its division.

The support, which came from certain political structures and opposition forces in Slovenia and Croatia, continues to encounter condemnation in all other parts of Yugoslavia.

According to today's official report, after the arrest of former Kosovo party leader Azem Vlasi and two leading people of the Trepca complex, there have been no new arrests. Several persons, however, were taken in for testimonies regarding the arrests of the three metioned persons.

At the same time, the League of Communists of Slovenia Central Committee Information Center today confirmed the discovery made by Belgrade dailies that a week prior to the Trepca miners' strike, Azem Vlasi made a private visit to Ljubljana from where the first telegrams of support to the miners' ultimatum demands arrived.

Claims have been officially denied that Fadil Hodza, former top state official who left the political scene in 1978 and was later accused of being one of the leading ideologists of Albanian separatism, had fled Yugoslavia.

Slogans, Banners at Belgrade Meeting Noted
AU0403161689 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Mar 89 p 3

[Unattributed report on the slogans and banners at the gathering outside the SFRY Assembly building in Belgrade on 28 February: "Slogans and Banners"]

[Text] "Miners out of the pit, the irredentist organizers in the pit"; "Everything is clear"; "We are with you, brother Morina"; "Workers of Yugoslavia, let us destroy our bureaucracies from the factory to the federation"; "We do not give up Kosovo—we live in harmony"; "Do not let them take us away"; "Yugoslavia, Serbia is defending you"; "Professors and students of the Medical Faculty—count on us"; "Down with the betrayers of Yugoslavia"; "Slovenes, remember Serbian bread"; "We are all miners"; "Let us stop the divisions"; "Long live the SFRY"; "Slovenes, shame on you"; "Slovene brothers—why?"; "We do not want blackmail or division"; "Kosovo is Serbian land"; "Only harmony saves Serbia"; "Help us, Slobo"; "Let us remember that brotherhood and unity is the oath of all Yugoslavs"; "Down with nationalists of all hues"; "We will defend you, Yugoslavia"; "Up with Slobo, down with Smole"; "Disease, get out of our hearths—Stara

Pazova"; "On whose behalf does the Slovene and Croatian leadership speak?"; "Yugoslavs, if we do not stop the emigrations together, we will be forced into divisions"; "Down with false brotherhood and unity," and "Long live the Serbian LC."

The workers, students, and citizens who gathered sang the following songs: "Hej, Slavs"; "There far way"; "Who says, who lies, that Serbia is small...."; "Oh bright May dawn, our mother Montenegro..."; "Heroes played in the middle of Serbia..." The following slogans were also shouted: "Slovenia lies"; "Students and workers"; "We do not want blackmail"; "Arrest Vlasi"; "Yugoslavia"; "Let us move onto action"; "We need action"; "Immigrants, get out"; "Long live the Solun fighters"; "Serbia has risen"; "Vlasi—Smole, down with both of them," and "Let's go to Kosovo."

Apart from hundreds of Yugoslav, Serbian, and party flags, workers and students at yesterday's meeting in front of the SFRY Assembly building carried pictures of Tito, Veljko Vlahovic [prominent postwar politician], Slobodan Milosevic, Njegos [Petar Petrovic Njegos was a 19th-century ruler of Montenegro], Karadjordje [Serbian leader in the first Serbian uprising], Vojvoda Misic [prominent Serbian army commander in the First World War], Saint Sava, Bosko Jugovic, the Kosovo girl [subject of a traditional Serbian folk poem], Prince Lazar [a Serbian hero in the battle of Kosovo], and Emperor Dusan [14th century Serbian emperor].

The people gathered in front of the assembly building were also given badges with "I love Yugoslavia" written on them. Several badges were "snatched up" in a minute so that the first lines in front of the SFRY Assembly were soon decorated with badges with the Yugoslav tricolor on them.

Union Pledges Support for Morina, Azemi, Sukrija
LD0303184989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1356 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—The basic prerequisite for the vigorous implementation of the special measures in Kosovo is the halting of all work stoppages in collectives and other institutions and the establishment of normal functioning in the process of production, education, and other spheres. This is stressed in today's statement by the Kosovo Trade Union Federation Council Presidium, which expressed support for the introduction of the special measures in the province at a session yesterday.

The Presidium of the provincial trade union again stresses that it supports the changes to the Serbian Constitution, calling for their adoption as soon as possible, and charges the trade union organs and organizations with exerting efforts for the elimination of undemocratic pressures on the institutions which decide upon changes to the Serbian Constitution.

Pledging its support for Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija, the Kosovo Trade Union Federation Council Presidium stresses that it was not the Stari Trg miners and the working class of Kosovo who called for their accountability, but the forces and individuals who have placed the working class in a most inhumane position.

Radio Comments on Tirana 'Interference'
AU0803210289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Emes Musabasic commentary]

[Text] The situation in Yugoslavia, and especially in Kosovo, has recently been frequently featured on the front pages of newspapers and in the major broadcasts of radio and television stations. Reaction and comment regarding this situation differ, of course. Neighboring Albania has exploited the Kosovo events in order to renew its campaign against Yugoslavia. Some statements, commentaries, and pamphlets contradict the official Tirana stance on the long-term Albanian interest in having good relations with Yugoslavia. All this is the subject of a commentary prepared by Emes Musabasic, Radio Sarajevo journalist:

A strong anti-Yugoslav campaign is again being waged from Tirana because of the alleged prolonged national oppression of the Albanians in Kosovo and the anti-Albanian policy in Yugoslavia; this once again means the old thesis according to the tested scenario from the times of Enver Hoxha.

In its concern for the position of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, Tirana encourages irredentists to destroy Yugoslavia, and at the same time strives to accuse the Yugoslav leadership of provoking anti-Albanian hysteria. On the one hand, we are hearing statements that Albania has never interfered and does not interfere in Yugoslavia's internal affairs; on the other hand, we have statements on their alleged duty to oppose a chauvinist course, which according to them is being followed against the Albanians in Yugoslavia.

If it is not interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, what then is the criticism by Albanian leader Ramiz Alia of the constitutional changes in the Socialist Republic of Serbia? Precisely at the time of the November gatherings of the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, Ramiz Alia, in his speech at an agricultural cooperatives congress, spoke about the constitutional changes in Serbia and assessed the position of the provinces as a step backward. He went as far as to conclude that the Albanians have been placed in conditions similar to those which prevailed in Rankovic's time.

Of course, he failed to at least touch upon the essence of the constitutional changes in Serbia—to equal its constitutional position to that of other Yugoslav republics—and he ignored the fact that they do not jeopardize the autonomy of the province.

Asserting that the constitutional changes mean an overt political and national discrimination against the Albanians, he ignored the facts and put himself into the role of a judge presiding over the events in Yugoslavia.

The well-known, old positions of Tirana have again appeared recently, and the question arises as to what all the recent positive indications from Tirana have meant when they spoke about the need to create a positive climate in the Balkans.

It is for the benefit of the people of Albania, as well as of peace and security in the Balkans, that its leadership should not interfere in the internal affairs of our country, and that instead of its sanctimonious care for the Albanians in Yugoslavia, it should address the problems and the rights of the Albanians in Albania.

Such a Tirana policy is supposed to convince the uninitiated that Yugoslavia is the obstacle to the development of good neighborliness, but that Albania is prepared for it. The facts, however, are implacable and different.

Slovene Health Service Charges Rise 92 Percent

LD0903115889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1101 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Summary] Ljubljana, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—Consumers of all health care services in Slovenia, from medical check-ups and dental treatment to the provision of artificial limbs and residence in a hospital, have had to pay 92 percent more for these services since 1 March.

Formation of Parties in Slovenia 'Not Punishable'

AU0403205189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Nonparty and pluralist party systems have been much talked about and discussed in Slovenia recently, as well as in the LC. The questions are asked about whether the forming of parties is forbidden, and whether nonparty pluralism is our new experiment. Answers were heard yesterday. Relja Atanasijevic reports:

The answer to the first question was provided by Pavle Car, republican public prosecutor. He stated that none of our laws states that the formation of parties is punishable. He added that the Constitution does not impose the obligation on newly formed sociopolitical organizations to register, and it does not limit their numbers.

This interpretation by the republican public prosecutor causes confusion. Parties are one thing, and sociopolitical organizations are another, the latter including the newly formed political alliances, which would immediately transform themselves into conventional parties if only they had a legal opportunity to do so. Therefore, the new political alliances in Slovenia, whether they like it or not, agree to join the SAWP as collective members because this is the only condition for their operation, but they do not renounce their ambitions to become parties.

It should be stressed that the LC of Slovenia, which proclaimed itself in favor of a nonparty political system, carefully follows the development of events in the republic. The Marxist Center in Ljubljana does not exclude the possibility that the LC would prepare its alternative party version if it were forced to do so.

In regard to the nonparty system, it should be remarked that much misunderstanding and dilemmas about it exist in Slovenia. It was stated at a roundtable conference organized by the LC in Nova Gorica that the republican party documents do not suffficiently explain how efficient a nonparty system may be, and it was remarked that this model of political pluralism should not be a new experiment in regulating sociopolitical relations which would be found to be inefficient and expensive after some 10 or 15 years.

Alliance Issues Statement on Slovenian Situation

LD0403102589 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 2100 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] The Slovene Democratic Alliance has issued a statement on the political situation in Slovenia and Yugoslavia saying, among other things, that the alliance was a cosignatory of the statement against the state of emergency [izredno stanje] in Kosovo and a coparticipant in the political meeting in Cankar House on 27 February. During that meeting, an agreement was reached among a majority of Slovene political factors on some fundamental developments regarding intranational relations in Yugoslavia and the modernization of political life in Slovenia. The Slovene Democratic Alliance interprets this agreement as a notable achievement.

The statement goes on to say that the alliance has been convinced by some recent official political statements that for some individuals—the protagonists of powers—this agreement signified an intolerable burden. [words indistinct] The Slovene Democratic Alliance has expressed its disagreement with a segment of the statement made by Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene Presidency, whose judgement is that it is quite impermissible for the highest organ of authority in Slovenia not to have a clear assessment of the latest events in Yugoslavia, and primarily of the events in Kosovo and Belgrade.

Regarding the obvious anticonstitutional nature of the Law on All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection—which in an arbitrary fashion and contrary to the Constitution currently in force, extends the constitutional aspects of the state of emergency to other special

circumstances, as well—the Slovene Democratic Alliance will consider any possible introduction of the state of emergency in Slovenia to be anticonstitutional. In its statement, the alliance also stresses that the Slovene people have the inalienable right to organize their way of life, including forms of political organization, and in this context rejects most vehemently the latest deliberations of the Yugoslav Presidency concerning the abolition of political democracy in Slovenia.

Croatian President Discourages Nationalism
LD0303185389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1601 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—Any kind of nationalism in Croatia will be foiled, and any scope for its activity will be closed to it. This was stressed today by Ivo Latin, president of the Presidency of the SR of Croatia, at the end of the 5-hour session of the council of the republic. Referring to the manifestations and attempts to set up various political parties, alliances, and initiatives, Latin said that such initiatives can operate only within the SAWP program, and any activity outside this framework cannot be permitted.

Many issues of the sociopolitical development of the country, the international situation, the position of Yugoslavia, and the concluding stage of the work on changing the republican Constitution were discussed during the council session.

Economic, Cultural Protocol Signed With Syria
JN0303190689 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1615 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade—A protocol for economic, cultural, and technical cooperation between Syria and the SFRY was signed today in Belgrade. The protocol was signed for the Syrian Arab side by Dr Sabah Baqjaji, minister of state for planning affairs, following the conclusion of the Joint Syrian-SFRY Economic Committee's meetings.

Boris Rikalovski, member of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, expressed the SFRY side's appreciation for the work of the joint committee, particularly for its discussion of all economic problems in an atmosphere of frankness and friendship, with the aim of bolstering economic cooperation between the two friendly countries—Syria and the SFRY.

Superpowers' Interest in SFRY Analyzed
AU0403175089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Mar 89

["Military-Political Commentary" by Dr Todor Mirkovic]

[Text] Yugoslavia, as an independent, multinational, self-managing socialist community, with its nonaligned foreign policy, has incessantly been a subject of attention, scrutiny, and study by the big powers and the military-political blocs. Situated between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, it constitutes a very important factor in the balance of forces. Any change in the policy of Yugoslavia and its possible approach to one bloc or another would (?cause) disturbances in the established relationship of forces and would have major further consequences.

It is therefore in the interest of either superpower and either bloc that Yugoslavia retains its independent and nonaligned status, and that it be formed and united in addition. They very often stress this publicly.

However, it is the unconcealed wish of some circles, especially the military circles of either side, to win Yugoslavia to their side. Such attention arises from the importance of the geostrategic position of Yugoslavia and the strivings by the leading powers of the two blocs, each wanting to gain certain advantages against the other. The foreign powers most frequently tie the possibility of implementing their aims toward Yugoslavia with the internal movements in the SFRY. Therefore they have been and are particularly now very much involved in following the events in Yugoslavia, in assessing the situation, and in working out contingency plans. In this context, they have resorted to certain speculations and forecasts about the crisis, and sometimes they have worked to create a crisis so that they might use it for gaining their aims more easily.

Unfortunately, some of these forecasts are coming true. Yugoslavia is passing through a deep economic and social crisis. However, this crisis is developing in a changed international situation. The United States has not yet fully recovered from the Vietnam syndrome, and the USSR will need much time to heal its wounds from Afghanistan. Public opinion in West European countries is manifesting antimilitary and antiwar feelings.

However, these objective circumstances cannot be an excuse or reliable grounds for neglecting the danger of a possible threat to the integrity and sovereignty of Yugoslavia. This is also shown by the fact that the (?Wintex-89) command staff exercise, which is being worked out and implemented by all the NATO command structures, includes Yugoslavia.

According to the scenario of this war game, Yugoslavia becomes a battlefield not only of internal clashes, but also of clashes between the forces of the two superpowers and the two blocs, including the use of nuclear armaments.

Indeed, it is only a war game. However, war games are most frequently adjusted to a given situation, or they are set up based on intelligence and strategic assessments. When assessments are at stake, it is certainly clear (?from) such and similar scenarios that even in a crisis, Yugoslavia cannot be an easy prey for anybody.

Pristina To Expand Serbo-Croatian Programming
LD0403041189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2042 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 3 March (TANJUG)—Tonight the Radio Pristina Programming Council unanimously approved the initiative that a full day of programming in Serbo-Croatian should be introduced as soon as possible on one of the two existing medium-wave frequencies. This initiative of the Serbo-Croatian Programming Editorial Board, the programming council, and Pristina radio and television management was endorsed at today's meeting of Radio Pristina representatives with Kosovo Assembly President Vukasin Jokanovic, representatives of the federal and provincil committees for information, executive secretaries of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, and with the chairman of the Commission for Information of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference.

It has been stressed that the introduction of a full day of programming in Serbo-Croatian is in line with the conclusions of the 9th and 17th LCY Central Committee plenums and with the action programme of immediate tasks of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. This is why the programming council will address itself to the founder—the Kosovo Assembly—asking it during its first next routine session or during a special session to approve the decision allowing Radio Pristina to broadcast a full day of programming in Serbo-Croatian.

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